

R 3357

01

A GRAMMAR OF BUeM:

THE LeLeMI LANGUAGE

234685

Edward Jay Allan

Thesis presented for the degree
of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the

School of Oriental and African

Studies,

University of London

August, 1973



ProQuest Number: 11010328

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 11010328

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

6274



Abstract

This grammar of the Lelɛmi dialect of Bwem is the first attempt to describe the morphology and syntax of any of the 14 Togo-Remnant languages in detail; in it, I have tried to describe the major structures and many of the minor structures of the languages which occur in informal or semi-formal speech. The phonetics and most of the phonology are described in taxonomic terms; the vowel harmony system and the syntax and morphology, however, are described in a slightly modified "Aspects" model of transformational-generative grammar. Of special interest to the non-specialist are my discussions of vowel harmony, of the noun class system, and of the verbal aspect system and serial verb constructions.

Acknowledgements

To the reader of this thesis, the acknowledgements are among the least important of its pages; to me, however, they are among the most important, for in them I can thank the people who've helped me. Foremost among them are my parents, without whose moral, financial and every other kind of support I'd never have started, let alone finish. I owe a deep debt of gratitude also to my supervisor, Professor Jack Carnochan, for his gentle nudges--and, when necessary, for his not-so-gentle nudges; my special thanks also to Dr. Neil V. Smith and to Mr. F.D.D. Winston for a great many useful discussions and suggestions. I'd also like to thank many other members of the staffs of the Linguistics Departments at University College and at SOAS and of the SOAS Africa Dept. for help and advice most freely given and to the Central Research Fund for providing me with equipment and money for informants' fees.

So many people helped me in Ghana that I don't really know where to begin, though first place in my thanks must

undoubtedly go to George Eamson Agyei, my steward, one of my principal informants, and most importantly my friend, for all he did to make my stay in Ghana both successful and enjoyable. Immediately after George, I must mention Nana Agyei, Chief of Okajakrom and Twifohehe of Buem, whom I had good reason to call àti 'Father', and my informants, not only for Buem, but for other languages too; unfortunately, they were too numerous to thank individually by name, but my appreciation goes out to them as individuals. My thanks also go out to Mr. W.K. Agbenyega, Principal of Jasi-kan Training College, Mr. P.K. Akoto-Ampaw, Principal of St. Francis' Training College, and Ms. Janet E. Booth, Officer-in-Charge of the Hohoe Teachers Center, for their kindness in letting me teach at their respective institutions and to my friends--former colleagues and former students--for making work so fun.

Finally, my sincere thanks to Dr. and Ms. Kevin C. Ford for linguistic and other support and to my erst-while roommate, Mr. James A. Engler, for putting up without complaint with my fieldnotes and everything else cluttering up the kitchen table.

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
 Part I. Introduction	15
The People	17
The Language	19
Genetic Relationships	19
Dialects of Buem	20
Earlier work on the language	26
Work in the language	28
The Grammar	29
Source dialect	29
Fieldwork	29
Scope and format of the grammar	31
 Part II. Phonology	34
Transcription	35
The Word	37
The Syllable	39

The Consonants	43
Consonant Clusters	51
C1- clusters	51
Cw- clusters	52
The Vowel System	55
The vowels	55
Vowel harmony	60
Reduced vowel harmony	66
Tone	76
 Part III. The Sentence	 83
Questions	85
Exclamations	87
Imperatives	88
Basic clause structure	88
 Part IV. The Noun Phrase	 90
Types of Noun Phrase	91
The Nominal Type of Noun Phrase	91
Simple Nouns	92

The Noun Class System	97
Co-occurrence restrictions on prefixes ...	115
Noun Suffixes	117
Concord and Agreement	119
Compound Nouns	125
Noun + Noun combinations	125
Noun + Verb combinations	129
Other combinations	131
Syntactic notes	132
Derived Nouns	134
Derived Agent Nouns	135
Derived Nouns of Suitability	142
Derived Nouns of Place	153
Other Derived Nouns	157
Possessors	161
Nominal possessors	161
Possessive pronouns	166
Inalienable possession	168
Noun Modifiers	171
Sex Markers	171
Participles	174

Numbers	181
Cardinal numbers	181
Ordinal numbers	186
Cardinal and ordinal numbers used together .	189
"Counting plurals"	190
Adjectives	192
Determiners	195
Spatial determiners	198
The referential determiner	198
Use with other modifiers	199
Relative Clauses	201
"Same Subject" Relative Clauses	202
"Different Subject" Relative Clauses	205
Quantifiers	209
Co-occurrence restrictions	210
Personal Pronouns	213
Objective pronouns	214
Independent pronouns	216
Possessive pronouns	222
Reflexive or reciprocal pronouns	222

Infinitives	224
The Infinitival Phrase as subject of a verb	226
The Infinitival Phrase as object of a verb	230
Infinitives used for emphasis	233

Part V. The Verb Phrase	235
The Verb Phrase	236
The Verb	236
Verbal Concord markers	238
Tense markers	242
Modality markers	243
The Verb Root	244
Verb Suffixes	246
Verb Paradigms	253
The Affirmative Simple Past	253
The Affirmative Past Progressive	256
The Affirmative Simple Present	261
The Affirmative Present Progressive	267
The Affirmative Simple Subjunctive	271
The Affirmative Simple Future	275
Verbs marked for Aspect	281
Certainty	282

Customary action	286
Motion away from the speaker	290
Motion towards the speaker	294
Negation	298
The Negative Past	299
Negative Present for verbs of state	303
The Negative Present for other verbs	306
The Negative Future	309
The Negative Subjunctive	313
Negation of verbs marked for other aspects .	315
Imperatives	320
Relative Verb Forms	324
The Relative Past	326
The Affirmative Relative Present for verbs of state	327
The Affirmative Relative Present for other verbs	328
The Negative Relative Present	329
The Affirmative Relative Future	331
The Negative Relative Future	331

Subject and Object Potentials	333
Subject potentials	333
Complementation	340
Adverbials and Prepositional Phrases ..	354
Adverbials of accompaniment	354
Instrumentals	356
Manner adverbials	357
Spatial adverbials	360
Time adverbials	365

Part VI. Conjunction and

Subordination	369
Conjunction of Noun Phrases	370
Conjoined NPs as subjects of a verb	372
Effects of conjunction on noun modifiers ..	378
Conjunction of Verb Phrases (Serial Verbs)	379
Serial verb constructions and buti 'to take'	388
Serial verb constructions and bute 'to give'	392

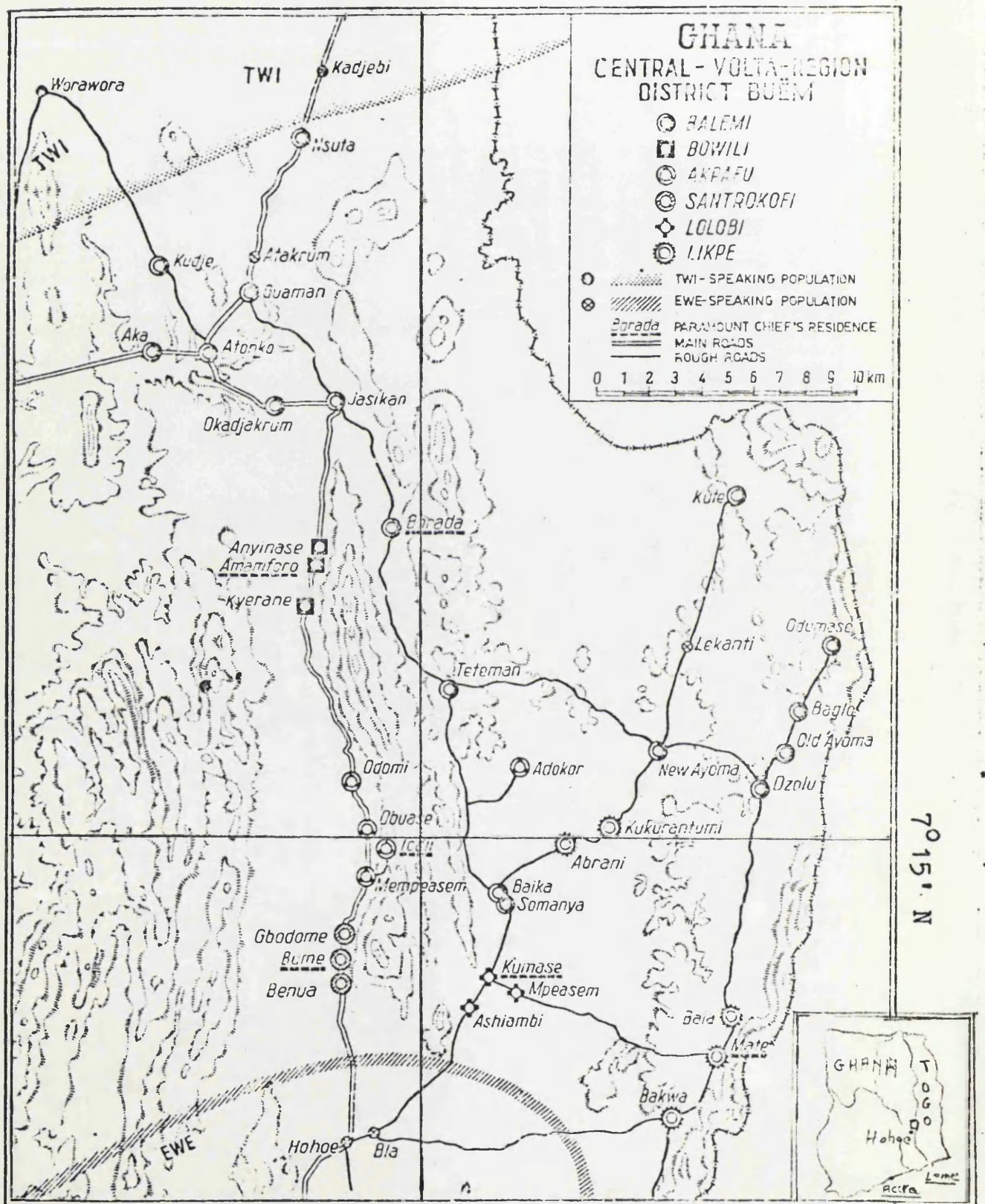
Serial verb constructions and butulò	
'to surpass'	394
Repetition of objects in conjoined sentences	396
Conjoining Entire Sentences	399
The Disjunctive Conjunctions	402
Conjunction of entire sentences	403
Conjunction of Noun Phrases as subjects of	
a verb	404
Conjunction of Noun Phrases as objects of	
a verb	405
Conjunction of Noun Phrases as objects of	
prepositions	406
The use of lye and mǎnǎ in questions ..	407
Sequence of Tenses	409
Sentences as Complements	415
Indirect Discourse	418
Indirect statements	418
Indirect questions	422
Indirect commands	425
Indirect interjections	426

Subordinate Clauses	427
"If" clauses	427
The causal clause	433
The time clause	436
The purpose clause	440
The "as if" clause	441
Juncture phenomenon	442
 Part VII. Emphasis	 444
The "Oral Comma," ni	445
Emphasis of a Noun Phrase	449
Emphasis of the subject of a verb	449
Emphasis of the object of a verb	449
Negation and Noun Phrase emphasis	453
Emphasis of a Verb	455
Interrogative Words	455
 Appendix A	 459
Summary of the Noun Class System	460

Appendix B. Connected Texts . . .	464
The Origins of Baglo	465
Why There are Chiefs	470
kɔtɔŋjà	474
 Bibliography	 478

Part I. Introduction

0°30' E.



The People

The area around the hills which mark the border between Ghana and Togo is--or should be--of interest to the comparative Africanist for it is inhabited by a number of different peoples, called collectively the Togo Remnant peoples, who speak languages which seem quite different from the languages spoken by their neighbors. In this grammar, I shall attempt to describe the language spoken by the Buem, who are, with a population of about 17,000, the second most numerous of all the Togo Remnant peoples and by far the most numerous of any of the ten Togo Remnant peoples now living in present-day Ghana.

The Buem live in seventeen villages and towns in the middle of Ghana's Volta Region (see map); these villages and towns are located between the Togo border to the East and Tapa Abotiase and Worawora (both excluded) to the West and between Hohoe to the South and Kadjebi to the North (both excluded). There are no Buem settlements in Togo itself. While the biggest

town in the Buem speaking area is Jasikan, much of Jasikan's population consists of migratory cocoa farmers from Togo and other parts of Ghana, so that the Buem town with the greatest number of Buem speakers in it is probably Borada, where the Paramount Chief lives.

Linguistically and ethnically, the Buem are bordered by the Akans to the North and West, by the Bowiri, the Akpafu-Lolobi and the Likpe to the South, and by the Axlo and Kposo to the East. Just beyond the Akpafu-Lolobi, the Likpe, the Axlo and the Kposo are the Ewes. Both Akan and Ewe belong to the Volta-Comoe sub-group of Kwa; all the other languages are Togo Remnant languages. Most Buem, including the women, speak Buem plus another language: the western segment of the Buem, the Bãfana, speak Buem and Akan, while the eastern segment, the Bãlèmi, speak Buem and Ewe; almost all the younger Buem also speak at least some English as well, and some of the oldmen still understand German.

The Language

Genetic Relationships. According to Heine (1968), Buem is most closely related to Akpafu-Lolobi and then to Likpe and Santrokofi; Heine places all four languages within the "NA" sub-division of the Togo Remnant languages (henceforth, TRLs). The relationships, however, of the TRLs with other language groups still remains quite indeterminate: Greenberg (1963) feels that the TRLs are a sub-group of Akan-Ewe in the Kwa sub-family of Niger-Congo; Heine agrees with this, adding that he feels the TRLs are most closely related to Guang, but that Guang is closer to Akan than it is to the TRLs. On the other hand, de Wolf (1971) feels that "Togo Remnant is definitely part of Benue-Congo and that all other languages of Greenberg's (1966) Kwa subfamily DO form part of a higher unit of which Benue-Congo is the other part" (de Wolf's emphasis) and continues by placing the TRLs tentatively on a level co-ordinate with Plateau and Jukunoid under Benue-Congo. At present, however, only

the Scottish verdict of "Not Proven" can be given to any of these claims.

Dialects of Buem. Buem speakers are divided into two groups: the Bɔ̌fana (literally, "those who remained"), who live to the north and west of Baika and who call what they speak Lɛ̌fana, and the Bɔ̌lɛ̌mi (literally, "those who advanced"), who live to the east of Teteman and who call what they speak Lɛ̌lɛ̌mi. In addition, Lɛ̌fana has three readily distinguishable sub-dialects: "General" Lɛ̌fana, the Lɛ̌fana spoken in Baika, and the Lɛ̌fana spoken in Borada. Lɛ̌lɛ̌mi is substantially uniform and is mutually intelligible with all forms of Lɛ̌fana. In this grammar, I shall use the name "Buem" to refer to the language spoken by the Bɔ̌fana and the Bɔ̌lɛ̌mi, reserving the names "Lɛ̌fana" and "Lɛ̌lɛ̌mi" strictly for matters dealing with one dialect but not the other; the name "Buem", incidentally, is of Twi origin and is the name used by non-Buems to refer to the Buem and by Buems themselves to refer to themselves to non-Buems.

While a full-scale dialect study is impossible here, the following notes should indicate some of the more significant differences between Lèlèmi and Lèfana:

1. Vocabulary. Lèfana has, in general, borrowed many more words from Akan than has Lèlèmi. In addition, Lèfana speakers from Baika seem to have innovated rather more words from other sources than have speakers of any of the other dialects, presumably because Baika speakers form a sort of enclave among speakers of Likpe and Lolobi.

2. Phonology. (a) In Lèlèmi, /l/ may occur in any consonantal position and is almost always realized as [l]. In Lèfana, however, /l/ occurs as [l] only morpheme initially; elsewhere, /l/ has the following realizations:

i. In Borada, /l/ never occurs word-initially:

Lèl.	lìlù	~	Borada	ìlù	'yam'
Lèl.	lisemi	~	Borada	ìsemi	'Teteman'
Lèl.	lédì	~	Borada	édì	'I ate'

ii. In Lèlèmi, /l/ is almost always realized as [l] when it follows a consonant; in Lèfana, however, /l/ is always realized as [r] after a consonant:

Lèl.	bɔbla	~	Lèf.	bɔbra	'to do'
Lèl.	ɔklɔɔ	~	Lèf.	ɔkrɔɔ	'canoe'
Lèl.	ɔklàma	~	Lèf.	ɔkràma	'dog'
Lèl.	àvlate	~	Lèf.	àvrate	'thirty'

iii. In Lèlèmi, the first person singular agreement prefix for past tenses of the verb is lé- or lí-, depending on vowel harmony; in most Lèfana dialects, however, it is né- or ní- and in the Borada sub-dialect, as just noted, it is é- or í- :

Lèl.	lédì	~	Lèf.	nédì	'I ate'
Lèl.	léfɔ	~	Lèf.	néfɔ	'I washed'
Lèl.	líbò	~	Lèf.	níbò	'I came'
Lèl.	líyè	~	Lèf.	níyè	'I bought'
Lèl.	límwì	~	Lèf.	nímwì	'I praised'

(b) Lèlèmi verbs with the structure $-CV_1lV_2$ have reflexes in Lèfana in which there is syncope of the first vowel, yielding $-CrV_2$:

Lèl.	butulò	~	Lèf.	butrò	'to surpass'
------	--------	---	------	-------	--------------

Lèl. bɔkulɔ̃ ~ Lèf. bɔkrɔ̃ 'to cut'

This syncope, associated with the lengthening of the final vowel of the word, also occurs with some nouns as well:

Lèl. adilà ~ Lèf. adraà 'food'

Lèl. lɛtalà ~ Lèf. lɛtraà 'mat'

Lèl. levalà ~ Lèf. lɛvraà 'egg'

(c) In Lèfana, underlying nasalized vowels are realized as nasalized vowels on the surface as well; however, in at least the Baglo sub-dialect of Lèlèmi, underlying nasalized vowels are realized only as oral vowels unless they occur before a stop consonant within the same noun phrase, in which case the underlying nasalized vowels are realized as $\tilde{V} + N$:

Lèl. [atu] ~ Lèf. [atũ] 'elephant'

Lèl. [ɔtɔ̃] ~ Lèf. [ɔtɔ̃] 'house'

Lèl. [bɔku] ~ Lèf. [bɔkũ] 'to chew'

1a. Lèl. líyè ɔtɔ̃.

b. Lèf. líyè ɔtɔ̃.

1s+Pa+buy house.

'I bought a house.'

but, in both Lèlèmi and Lèfana,

2. lísè ɓtɔ ŋ kemo.

1s+Pa+go house ∅ inside.

'I went inside the house.'

(d) In Lèfana and in some sub-dialects of Lèlèmi, the sequence /t/ + /i/ is realized as [tʃi] ; this palatalization does not occur in the Baglo sub-dialect of Lèlèmi:

Bag.	[àti]	~ ~	Tet.	[àtʃi]	'father'
			Ok.	[àtʃi]	
Bag.	[lɪtɪ]	~ ~	Tet.	[lɪtʃɪ]	'I took'
			Ok.	[nɪtʃɪ]	
Bag.	[mɓɓtimɪ]	~	Ok.	[mɓɓtʃimɪ]	'I'm reducing (e.g., price)'
Bag.	[ɓɓtià]	~	Ok.	[ɓɓtʃià]	'he learns'
Bag.	[ɓɓtinà]	~	Ok.	[ɓɓtʃinà]	'he teaches'

There is one exception to this, however; in all dialects, the segment /t/ of the verb bɓtɪ 'to know' is realized as [dʒ] in the present tense affirmative, though in paradigms for all other tenses the segment /t/ is realized either as [t] or as [tʃ], depending on

dialect. In Baglo, for example, we get the following alternations:

[ndʒi]	'I know'	[nàati]	'I don't know'
[àdʒi]	'You(s) know'	[àati]	'You(s) don't know'
[ɔ̃dʒi]	'He knows'	[ɔ̃ti]	'He doesn't know'
[bɔ̃dʒi]	'We know'	[bɔ̃ti]	'We don't know'

etc.

(e) Some nouns which show reduplication of the stem consonant in Lèlèmi have reflexes in Lèfana in which the first syllable of the stem is deleted with a concomitant lengthening of the vowel of the prefix:

Lèl.	ɔ̃nàɔ̃nà	~	Lèf.	ɔ̃nà	'man'
Lèl.	kajije	~	Lèf.	kaaje	'monkey'
Lèl.	ãŋwɛŋwè	~	Lèf.	aanwi	'bee'

but

Lèl.	alɛlɛ	~	Lèf.	alɛlɛ	'fly'
------	-------	---	------	-------	-------

3. Syntax. (a) In Lèlèmi, both low tone and mid tone verbs are homophonous in the affirmative simple past tense; in Lèfana, mid tone and low tone verbs are differentiated in the affirmative simple past:

Lɛl.	lɛŋwà	'I cooked; I harvested'
Lɛf.	nɛŋwà	'I cooked'
	nɛŋwà	'I harvested'

(b) Even in informal or casual speech, Lɛlɛmi speakers generally retain the full range of concord and agreement in pronouns and in verb prefixes; many Lɛfana speakers, on the other hand, use the unmarked pronoun forms in informal speech and appear to alternate randomly between marked and unmarked agreement in verb prefixes in casual speech.

Earlier work on the language. Heine (1968) presents the most comprehensive over-view of the field of Togo Remnant studies; however, since Heine's aims were the comparative study of the respective noun class systems coupled with the historical reconstruction of the lexicon, his treatment of individual languages is necessarily brief. To date, the only lengthy studies of any of the TRLs are Ford (1971), a study of aspects, primarily tonal, of Avatime, and Höftmann (1971), an outline grammar of Lɛlɛmi with some connected texts;

unfortunately, I did not learn of Höftmann's grammar until this thesis was virtually completed. Otherwise, there have been only about 15 works dealing with Buem as Buem; for the most part, these works are wordlists, of which Kropp (1967) is by far the most extensive and the most useful for general purposes, while Cansdale (undated) is a valuable comparative guide to animal names throughout Ghana. The first known work on the syntax of Buem is Westermann (1910), which gives a brief outline, generally accurate, of some of the major structures of the language and which has a Lèfana-German lexicon as well; other syntactic work consists of Höftmann (1966), Höftmann (1970), Allan (1972a) and Allan (in press). Seidel (1898), working from Plehn (1895), represents the first attempted description of the phonology of Buem; possibly owing to shortcomings in the source material (which I have not seen), Seidel's work is wildly inaccurate, and the findings in Westermann (1910) are much more in line with my own, especially with respect to the vowel system (Allan, 1972b; see also Ford (in press)).

Work in the language. Funke (1919) presents the first connected text, a discussion of marriage customs which internal evidence suggests came from a speaker from Teteman. The Rev. Fr. A.O. Dogli, from Baglo, wrote everything else printed in Buem: ten pamphlets, largely religious and pedagogical in nature, which appeared at irregular intervals between 1953 and 1955; in addition, Fr. Dogli translated the entire Catholic missal, which is still in use. At the present time, the Rev. FFr. J. Laast is preparing a Lɛlɛmi hymn book at Teteman. Both Fr. Dogli and, I believe, Fr. Laast transcribe Buem using Ewe orthography; letters my Lɛfana speaking friends have written me generally use Twi orthography. As far as I know, there are no plans to translate the Bible into Buem.

In addition to these texts, and those in Höftmann and Ayitevi (1968), there are two phonograph records (i.e., four sides) of evangelical preaching by a Mr. Odumah, from, I believe, Teteman.

The Grammar

Source dialect. This grammar is based on that dialect of Lèlèmi spoken in Baglo and in Baglo-Odumase, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Baglo. I chose this dialect primarily because it is probably the most conservative and because the only Buem literature, other than Funke's text, is written in this dialect. In addition, Lèlèmi forms in general can be used as a sort of "base" from which certain Lèfana forms can be predicted given the addition of a small number of low-level phonological rules, like the /l-r/ alternation and metasthesis/syncope rules discussed in Dialects of Buem, above. Since the converse, that Lèlèmi forms can be predicted from the Lèfana forms, is not true in the self-same cases, a grammar of Lèlèmi can be considered as being, in a significant way, a "source grammar" for Lèfana.

Fieldwork. I collected material for this grammar during a 23-month field trip from September 1970 to July 1972; the first year of this time I spent at Jasikan Training

College, Jasikan (Buem) and the balance of my stay at St. Francis' Training College, Hohoe. My principal informants for Lèfana were Messrs. Kojo Ginger Ray Braimah-Mintah, a student at Jasikan Training College, and George Lamson Agyei, a student at Volta Commercial College, both natives of Okajakrom, and my principal informants for Lèlèmi were Messrs. Lewis D.K. Dokpor, a student at Jasikan Training College who came from Baglo, and Dominic K. Nyarko, a student at St. Francis' Training College who came from Baglo-Odumase. Both of my principal Lèlèmi informants had had previous experience with working with their language: Dokpor stayed with his classificatory grandfather, the Rev. Fr. Dogli, who tried to pass on to him a feel for the structure of his language, and Nyarko had previously served as an informant for Hildegard Hoeftmann during her field trip to Baglo. Mr. Philip Agyakwa, from Atonkor, and Mr. Lucas Aggadey, from Baglo, also contributed substantial amounts of time, and Messrs. Michael Dudu and Richard Akoto-Addey gave me much useful information on the Borada dialect of Lèfana.

Costs of the fieldwork were met by the Central Research Fund of the University of London, which provided me with a generous grant for equipment and informant's fees.

Scope and format of the grammar. In this grammar I will deal with the synchronic description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Lèlèmi: because the only published descriptions of any of the Togo Remnant languages consist primarily of sketchy fragments, dealing mostly with the noun class systems and rarely with anything else, it seems to me preferable to attempt a description of the complete language (with the exception of its semantics), even at the risk of appearing to deal with some portions of that description superficially, rather than to deal with a smaller portion of the language exhaustively.

The phonology consists of the taxonomic description of the sounds that I have heard used in speech and of the permissible combinations of those sounds; I have, in addition, tried to give a generative phono-

logical account of the vowel harmony system. The morphology and syntax are described within the framework of the "Aspects model" (alias "Standard Theory") of transformational generative grammar as proposed in Chomsky (1965) and modified in Chomsky (1970). Basically, this theory entails the use of a relatively small number of ordered context-free rules, called "base rules," which establish the "deep structure," or the basic relationship and order of the elements of a sentence, followed by a series of context-sensitive rules, not necessarily ordered, called "transformational rules," which can alter the relationships and ordering established by the base rules and which can combine elements to form the "surface structure." Generally speaking, in this grammar I will use base rules to develop what has traditionally been called "syntax" and transformational rules to develop what has traditionally been called "morphology." I have generally omitted base rules which rewrite non-terminal symbols into individual words, in order to avoid useless pedantry. At this point, I should mention that I intend to use the theory of

transformational grammar as a tool to help to describe the language, not to use the language as a tool to help describe the theory of transformational grammar; in short, I don't want to hide the forest for the "trees." Since I am not a native speaker of Lelëmi, I cannot claim that my rules will generate "all and only" grammatical sentences in Lelëmi; my rules will, however, generate all the structures commonly used within a single sentence of discourse and should generate many of the rarer structures as well.

Except where the study of semantics directly impinges on the syntax of Lelëmi or where the semantics of Lelëmi presented definite problems to me when I was learning the language, the field of semantics has been excluded from this grammar.

Part II. Phonology.

Transcription

In this grammar, I have used the "Africa" alphabet, rather than the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), to transcribe segmental speech sounds, i.e., consonants, vowels, and glides; this transcription differs from an IPA transcription with respect to the following: the use of the symbol 'y' to denote the palatal glide transcribed in IPA as 'j', and the use of the symbols 'j' and 'c' to denote the ^{alveolar} ~~palatal~~ affricates transcribed in IPA as 'dʒ' and 'tʃ', respectively. Suprasegmental speech sounds are transcribed as follows:

ĩ	Nasalization
ˊ	High tone
v (unmarked)	Mid tone
ˋ	Low tone
ˊv	Downstepped tone

Underlying representations subject to morphophonemic alternations are written with capital letters, e.g., the form BA- is the underlying representation of the surface prefixes [ba] or [be] (with the selection based

on vowel harmony). In underlying representations, tone is marked as follows:

ˊ V	Underlying High tone on that segment
ˈ V	Underlying Mid tone " " "
ˋ V	Underlying Low tone " " "
ˊ V	Underlying High tone on preceding segment
ˈ V	Underlying Mid tone " " "
ˋ V	Underlying Low tone " " "

When tone is not marked for an underlying segmental, V , this indicates that the tone on that segmental is subject to variation.

Because a strictly phonemic transcription could not adequately deal with problems of morphophonemic alternation, such as those presented by the vowel harmony system, I have used a broad phonetic transcription instead, which differs from a phonemic transcription in recognizing, for example, the /l-r/ alternations which a strictly phonemic transcription would ignore.

The Word

A "word" (as opposed to a "morpheme") in Buem can be defined in either of two ways:

- i. A word is a sequence of sounds which can be uttered in isolation and which cannot be segmented into shorter sequences of sounds such that each such shorter sequence of sounds can also be uttered in isolation, or
- ii. A word is a sequence of sounds which can function in syntagmatic relation with a word as defined above and which cannot be segmented into shorter sequences of sounds such that each such shorter sequence of sounds is itself a word, either as defined in (i.) above or in the first part of this definition.

Words defined under (i.) would be primarily nouns, verbs, cardinal numbers, adverbs, etc. which could occur either as commands or as answers to questions, for example, by themselves; words defined under (ii.) would be primarily noun modifiers, verb modifiers, prepositions, conjunctions, etc. which couldn't normally occur by themselves in isolation, but which can occur with words which can occur

in isolation. While these definitions do have some loop-holes, they should be sufficiently rigorous for my needs.

The only monosyllabic words in Buem are:

- i. Object Pronouns,
- ii. The "Oral Comma," -ni , and some
- iii. Connectives (Prepositions and Conjunctions),
- iv. Adverbs,
- v. Adjectives, and Noun Quantifiers, and
- vi. Onomatopoeic words.

All other words have at least two syllables; the longest word I have yet encountered has five syllables. The vast majority of all words have only two syllables, inclusive of prefix, followed by a much smaller number with three syllables, including prefix, and an even smaller number, almost all of them verbs, with four syllables, including prefix.

The Syllable

There are seven types of syllable which occur in native Buem words, listed below in descending order of estimated frequency:

- i. CV ,
- ii. V ,
- iii. CwV ,
- iv. Clv ,
- v. N ,
- vi. Vn , and
- vii. CVn .

The CV type of syllable is far the commonest since it is the only type of syllable that can occur anywhere in a word and since, with certain minor exceptions, it is the only type of syllable that must occur in a word.

ku	'and, with'
dε	'how?'
bo	'Come!'
lènà	'meat'
bèlòku	'women'

bɔtinà	'to teach'
lìgulabi	'money'

Next commonest is the V type of syllable, which occurs either as an affix or as the residue of a presumed CV type syllable in a Noun Stem which has undergone metathesis or some similar process.

ɔtɔ	'house'
úbò	'he came'
ɔɔŋwà	'he is harvesting'
ɔdia	'it is good'
ɔsiì	'gourd'
ɔklantìè	'cutlass'

The only times that a V syllable occurs as the only syllable of a word are the Object Pronoun for the second person singular, o , and onomatopoeic words and the answers to questions which are "Yes-Nò."

iii	'Yes'
ɔɔ	'No'

Both CwV and ClV types of syllables have the same distribution, occurring only in stems, never as affixes. They are exemplified on pp. 51ff and occur as the only syllables of a word only in possessive pronouns (see pp. 166-8),

in imperatives, in adjectives/noun quantifiers, and in onomatopoeic words.

ɲwa	'his, her, its'
bla	'Do!'
fwi	'Spit!'
bli	'small'
vla	'Bang!!'

Syllabic nasals occur only word initially or in compounds or derived forms.

ntu	'water'
ńsù	'but'
ńda	'I am grasping'
kateńkɔ	'bedroom'

Syllable type Vn occurs only in the word for 'corn', ɔ̃nta, ànta , and in the Baglo determiners ɛ̃nvɔ̃ 'that' and ɛ̃njè 'yonder'; syllable type CVn occurs only in the word for 'corn', lènta , in the Baglo determiners when they have CV- prefixes, e.g., bánvɔ̃ 'those', and in participles derived from Verb Stems with underlying nasalized vowels:

ɛ̃dundi	'killed'
ɛ̃kundi	'"chopped"'

The Consonants of Lelele

		labial	alveolar	palatal	back	double
Stops	voiced	b	d		g	gb
	voiceless	p	t		k	kp
Fricatives	voiced	v				
	voiceless	f	s		h	
Affricates	voiced		j			
	voiceless		c			
Lateral			l			
			r			
Nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Glides		w		y		

Figure I

The Consonants

There are 21 consonants in Lèlèmi, 18 oral consonants and 3 nasal consonants; these consonants, plus /ŋ/, which is a conditioned allophone of /p/ recognized in the orthography, are listed in Figure I. Except as noted below, these consonants have no allophonic variations.

/t/ is always realized in the Baglo dialect of Lèlèmi as [t] except in the affirmative present tense of the verb b̀̀t̀i 'to know', where /t/ is realized as [j]:

àj̀i '2s knows' ~ àat̀i '2s doesn't know'.

In other dialects, there are other alternations as well, already discussed in Part I under Dialects of Buem.

/kp/ has three different realizations, of which the most common, [kp], has two full closures. Occasionally, however, some speakers use [pw] before /i/:

[úkp̀i] * [úpẁi] '3s died'.

Rarely, some speakers use a strongly aspirated [p^h] before a back vowel:

[l̀ikp̀ð] ~ [l̀ip^hð] 'place, knot'

/b/ sometimes is realized as [ɸ], instead of [b], at the beginning of a sentence:

[bàasɛ] ~ [ɸàasɛ] 'birds'

/f/ has a variety of allophones, of which the commonest is a labio-dental realization in which the upper teeth come into contact with the back of the lip rather than the top and in which there is little or no rounding; this yields a sound intermediate between that usually transcribed as 'f' and that usually transcribed as either 'ɸ' or 'ɸ'. The realization [ɸ] is generally heard before /w/; occasionally, a form of /f/ with quite a noticeable "whistle" component also occurs before /w/.

especially b[ɸàfwɪɔ] ~ [bàɸwɪɔ] ~ [bàɸswɪɔ] 'idol, fetish'

[bɪ for 'leopard', usually pronounced [ɛ̀bùɔfwara]

In the word for 'leopard', usually pronounced [ɛ̀bùɔfwara], the pharyngeal fricative [ħ] is occasionally used:

[ɛ̀bùɔħwara],

though one speaker does use the glottal fricative [h] here instead:

[ɛ̀bùɔhwara].

Of the [ɸw] and [ɸsw] sounds, Kropp (1967) writes:

"The sound transcribed $\text{f}^{\text{y}}_{\text{w}}$ in Lejana is a bilabial palatal voiceless spirant, in which the upper lip protrudes slightly over the lower (viz. Akan hw).

Sometimes a slight whistle can be heard." There is no mention elsewhere in the literature of the "whistle" variant of /f/, although the whistle is often, as I say, quite noticeable: Heine (1968) simply lists both /f/ and $\text{f}^{\text{y}}_{\text{w}}$ as phonemes, without further comment. It may be, therefore, that the whistle variant is quite a recent innovation.

/p/ is written 'ny' in the texts. It has a velar allophone [ŋ], which occurs before /u/: àŋu 'he/she/it'

/l/ does not alternate with /n/ in the Baglo dialect, nor does it alternate with /r/ in the Baglo dialect except in the following words:

kadruì, kɔ	'compound'
kwabla ~ kwabra	'Thank you'
lījero	'I send greetings'
buvre ~ buvre	'Please'
bɔvruma	'to be different'
bɔtra	'to depart'

avrùkpo 'God'

/r/ occurs only in the above seven words, in the Baglo dialect, and in loan words:

lɔrì 'truck, lorry'

fraidè 'Friday'

ɲkraà 'Accra'

raurà 'Worawora'

gɛgrɛgɛ 'a type of bush with milky stems'

Figure II
Consonantal Contrasts

	I/i	e/e	a	o/ɔ	U/u
p	bɔ̌pɪ to be thick	bɔ̌pɛ to cook	lɛpa a bat		bɔ̌pɔ̌ to spill over
b	bɔ̌bɪ to be cooked	bɔ̌bɛ to hide	bɔ̌bɔ̌ to be cold	bubɔ to come	bɔ̌bɔ̌ to be wet
f	bɔ̌fɪ to roast	bɔ̌fɛ to sneeze	ʃfa an uncle	bɔ̌fɔ̌ to wash	bɔ̌fɔ̌ to swell
v	bɔ̌vɪ to be across	buvɛɪ to fly	bɔ̌vɔ̌ to shout	buvɔ to borrow	lɪvu ten

t	bùtì to take	bùtè to give	bṽtṽ to rise	ṽṽ a house	bṽtu to pierce
d	bḁḁì to eat	bude to be near	bḁḁḁ to grasp	kudo a side	bḁḁù to bite
c			bḁcḁ to be at		bḁcu/a to burn s. t.
j	kàjìì a monkey	kajeje a basket	bṽja to drum	bḁjḁ to pluck	bṽju to be uprooted
s	bḁsì to be from	buse to go	bḁsḁ to be finished	bḁsḁ to continue	bḁsù to speak
k	bḁkìbi to repair	bṽke to walk	bḁkḁ to sew	bṽkṽ to climb	bḁkù to chew

ɛ			ɔ̃gá a chief		
h	bɔ̃hi to wear out		bɔ̃há to disturb		
kɔ	búkɔi to die	bɔ̃kɔpé to cut hair	bɔ̃kɔpá to summon	bukpo to fight	
gb			ɔ̃gbà a leg	bɔ̃gbɔ̃ to eat	
l	eli heads	bɔ̃le to sleep	bɔ̃là to collect	bɔ̃lɔ̃ to name	lílú yam
m	emi boundaries	ɔ̃mé this	bɔ̃ma to laugh	bumo to be satisfied	búmú to keep water in mouth

n	bɔni to drink	bùné to be long	bɔna to rain	bɔnɔ́ to urinate	bɔnú to see
n/ɲ	bɔnyɪ to excrete	bunye to stand	bɔnyà to trod	ínyó two	ânu he, she, it
w	buwi to contain	ɔ́we a pestle		bɔwɔ́ to give birth	âwu a shirt
y	bɔyɪ to be lost	buye to trade	bɔya to permit	bɔyɔ to want	buyu to steal

Consonant Clusters

A consonant cluster is defined as the sequence of two consonants within a single morpheme. There are two types of consonant cluster in Lèlèmi: sequences of C + l and sequences of C + w. The former will henceforth be referred to as "Cl- clusters" and the latter as "Cw- clusters."

Cl- clusters. The Cl- cluster also includes sequences of C + r, given earlier discussions of /l-r/ alternation. At least some of the Cl- clusters are the result of diachronic metastheses:

Likpe ɔ̀kɔ̀lɔ̀ ~ Lèl. ɔ̀klɔ̀ɔ̀ 'canoe'

or of borrowings from other languages:

Twi okrama ~ Lèl. ɔ̀klàma 'dog'.

Following are some examples of Cl- clusters:

/pl/	plá'	'Splat!'
/tl/	bɔ̀tra	'to depart'
/kl/	ɔ̀klàma, bà-	'dog'
	ɔ̀klantiè, lè-	'cutlass'

	ðklðfu, bà-	'young man'
	ðklɔ̀ɔ̀, lè-	'canoe'
	ðklɔ̀ɔ̀klɔ̀, bà-	'big brown squirrel'
/bl/	bɔ̀bla	'to do'
	ùblebì, bè-	'young woman'
	ðbliwa, bà-	'old person'
	blii	'small'
	àtiblùku	'God'
/dl/	kadruì, kɔ̀-	'compound'
/gl/	aglɔ̀ŋɔ̀, ba-	'red palm-wine ant'
/vl/	avrùkpo	'God'
	bɔ̀vruma	'to be different'

Cw- clusters. Not all sequences of C + w form true consonant clusters; some are, instead, merely the phonetic result of suffixing a vowel to a verb stem which happens to end in -u :

bɔ̀cùì	'to be burnt'	~	bɔ̀cùlà	'to burn'
bɔ̀kùì	'to be dried'	~	bɔ̀kùlà	'to dry'

Some examples of "true" Cw- clusters are:

/kw/	bɔ̀kwà	'to paint'
	bɔ̀kwɛni	'to carry on one's back'
	bkwɛ, lɛ-	'throat'
	lɛ̀kwà, à-	'year'
/bw/	bɔ̀bwɛ	'to apologize, feel sorry'
	bɔ̀bwì	'to hunt'
	bùbwìlì	'to fall down'
	ebwo, be-	'animal'
	lìbwì, è-	'pot'
	kàbwa, kɔ̀-	'hat'
	kebwe, be-	'insect'
	libwo	'madness'
/dw/	kàdwɛ̀	'well' (adverb)
	budwo	'to welcome'
/fw/	bɔ̀fwalà	'to drill a hole'
	bɔ̀fwàlà	'to be(come) bright, white, grey'
	bufwi	'to spit'
	bɔ̀fwini	'to yell in anger'
	bɔ̀fwìɔ̀	'to be mistaken'
	bɔ̀fwìɔ̀	'to suck (e.g., juice from orange)'
	bàfwìɔ̀	'idol, fetish'

/sw/	blí-swè	'very small'
/cw/	b̀cwɛ	'to forge metal'
	b̀cwè	'to await'
	bɔcwi	'to be painful'
	ùcwili, bè-	'person'
	h̃cwɛni	'firewood'
/jw/	àjwi	'brains, intelligence'
/mw/	bɔmwamwà	'to crumple (e.g., paper)'
	bumwi	'to praise'
	b̀mwè	'to smell (something)'
	ɔmwɛmwɛ, bà	'firefly'
	limwi	'fat' (noun)
	ɔmwi	'today'
	bɔŋwa	'to cook'
/ŋw/	b̀ŋwà	'to harvest'
	bɔŋwi	'to carve'
	linwi	'hair'
	aŋwɛŋwɛ, ba-	'bee'
	ɔŋwa, bà-	'sibling'
	úŋwí	'1'

The Vowel System

The vowels. There are seven phonemic vowels in the Baglo dialect of Lelɛmi, with values quite close to those of the primary cardinal vowels symbolized by [i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u]. In addition, there is a surface vowel [ɪ], rather more open than [i], which is an optional allophone of /i/ which occurs only in a syllable of a noun stem which is followed by another syllable in the same word ending in /i/.

[animɪ]	~	[anɪmɪ]	'rice'
[kubitɪ]	~	[kubɪtɪ]	'happiness'

Vowels may be phonologically nasalized (and, in other dialects, phonetically nasalized as well); in the Baglo dialect, however, the only phonetic correlation to phonological nasalization occurs when the vowel which is phonologically nasalized precedes a stop consonant within the same Noun Phrase; for example, although the Verb Stem -ku 'chew' is phonologically nasalized, there is no phonetic nasalization associated with it either in the infinitival form bɔku 'to chew' or in the finite form

bókù 'we chewed' as in

bókù kàbè.

1p+PAS+chew fish

'We ate a fish.'

There is surface nasalization, however, in the participle formed from -ku 'chew',

ḡ.kundi 'chewable'

That the surface nasality is conditioned by a stop consonant within the same Noun Phrase--a restriction which might seem to be odd--is illustrated by the difference in the realizations of ɔtɔ, lɛ- 'house' in the third of the following sentences as compared to the first two.

úsè ɔtɔ.

3s+PAS+go house

'He went home.'

úsè ɔtɔ kàmàdì.

3s+PAS+go house yesterday

'He went home yesterday.'

úsè ɔtɔ ŋ kemo.

3s+PAS+go house Ø inside.

'He went into the house.'

The simplest explanation is that in the second sentence kàmàdì 'yesterday' was outside the Noun Phrase containing ɔtɔ, whereas in the last sentence kemo 'inside' was inside the Noun Phrase containing ɔtɔ.

That this explanation is probably correct is shown even more clearly when we consider parallel sentences with ɔma, lɛ- 'town', a word in which we could expect a carry-over of nasalization to a following word because of the natural nasalization induced by /m/; we find, however, that ɔma, lɛ- 'town' works just like ɔtɔ, lɛ- 'house'.

úsè ɔma.

3s+PAS+Go town

'He went to (his home) town.'

úsè ɔma kàmàdì

3s+PAS+go town yesterday

'He went to (his home) town yesterday.'

úsè ɔma η kemo.

3s+PAS+go town ∅ inside

'He went into town.'

(See Hyman (1972) for a discussion of the development of

nasals and nasalized vowels in Kwa and in TRLs.)

Although there are only seven phonemic, surface vowels in Lele \acute{m} i, it is necessary to posit a system of nine underlying vowels in order to account for the facts of the language adequately; these nine underlying vowels are /I, i, e, ϵ , a, ɔ , o, u, U/. The following distinctive feature matrix schematizes both the surface and the underlying vowels.

	I	i	e	ϵ	a	ɔ	o	u	U
High	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
Low	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Back	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Advanced	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+

Figure III

Matrix for Vowels

/I/	bùtì	'to take'
/i/	bɔ̌ti	'to know'
/e/	bùtè	'to give'
/ɛ/	bɔ̌tè	'to judge'
/a/	bɔ̌tà	'to rise'
/o/	bumo	'to be satisfied'
/ɔ/	bɔ̌mɔ̌	'those'
	bɔ̌tɔ̌	'to be worn out'
/U/	bùtù	'to spit'
/u/	bɔ̌dù	'to bite'

Figure IV

Vocalic Contrasts

For the most part, these features are self-explanatory. The features [High] and [Low], for example, are approximately equivalent to the terms "Close" and "Open," respectively, in referring to the extent of tongue raising or lowering and associated mouth opening; hence, since the vowels /e, ε, ɔ, o/ are all Mid vowels, they all have the distinctive feature specification of $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{High} \\ -\text{Low} \end{bmatrix}$. The feature [Advanced] is the Buem equivalent of the articulatory feature Stewart (1967, 1970) calls Root Advancing, which refers to the position of the root of the tongue for a particular vowel; vowels which are specified as [+Advanced] are those which traditionally have been called "Tense", and those which are specified as [-Advanced] are those which traditionally have been called "Lax." Since I have performed no instrumental work on Buem, I am using the feature [Advanced] primarily as a "Cover term."

Vowel harmony. Buem has "cross-height" vowel harmony, a type of vowel harmony, quite common in West Africa, in which

... on the basis of the harmony, the vowels of the language in question can be divided into two mutually exclusive sets such that (i) the tongue positions of the vowels of one of the sets are high in relation to the tongue positions of their counterparts in the other set, but (ii) the tongue position of at least one member of the relatively high set is lower than the tongue position of at least one member of the relatively low set. (Stewart, 1971:198)

In Buem, vowel harmony entails that all vowels of a polysyllabic word, with the exception of compound nouns, unassimilated loan words, and certain verbs marked for Aspect, shall either be all [+Advanced] or all [-Advanced], and cannot change their specification until all selectional rules have applied. The vowel harmony pattern of a stem (e.g., a Noun Stem or a Verb Stem) is "given" and conditions the vowel harmony pattern of affixes, the most important of which are prefixes.

Phonologically, there are four different "shapes" that a prefix can take:

- i. \emptyset - ,
- ii. N- ,
- iii. V- , and
- iv. CV- .

Vowel harmony is irrelevant to the first two, \emptyset and N- ; the last two, V- and CV- , can be considered together. There are three pairs of vowels which can occur in prefixes, with one member of each pair being used when the word stem has [+Advanced] vowels and with the other member being used when the word stem has [-Advanced] vowels. The archi-phoneme of each pair is symbolized by a capital letter, and the pairs in question are:

	<u>[+Advanced]</u>	<u>[-Advanced]</u>
A	/e/	/a/
E	/I/	/ε/
O	/U/	/ɔ/

A glance at the distinctive feature matrices for the archi-phonemes and the pairs subsumed will make the relationships between the pairs clearer; symbols marked by "∠"s co-vary.

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 A- = \begin{bmatrix} -\text{High} \\ -\text{Low} \\ -\text{Back} \\ \text{Advanced} \end{bmatrix} & & E- = \begin{bmatrix} \text{High} \\ -\text{Low} \\ -\text{Back} \\ \text{Advanced} \end{bmatrix} \\
 & & O- = \begin{bmatrix} \text{High} \\ -\text{Low} \\ +\text{Back} \\ \text{Advanced} \end{bmatrix}
 \end{array}$$

Figure ~~V~~ shows which prefix vowels can co-occur with which stem vowels; again, selection of the stem vowel determines whether the prefix vowel is [+Advanced] or [-Advanced].

	<u>Prefix</u>			<u>Stem</u>				
	A	E	O					
[+Advanced]	e	I	U	I	e	---	o	U
[-Advanced]	a	ε	ɔ	i	ε	a	ɔ	u

Figure V

Patterns of Vowel Harmony

Following all the selection rules, a low-level phonological rule causes /I/ to merge with /i/ and /U/ to merge with /u/ .

While this outline may seem rather complicated, the following paradigms should show how simple the system really is. The verbs form minimal pairs on the basis of $[\pm\text{Advanced}]$ and are presented in the Affirmative Simple Past (see p. 253 ff).

bòtè ($[-\text{Advanced}]$)		'to judge'		bùtè ($[\text{+Advanced}]$)		'to give'	
létè	I	judged		lítè	I	gave	
átè	You, A-			étè	You, A-		
ótè	He, O-			útè	He, O-		
bótè	We, N, BO-			bútè	We, N, BO-		
bétè	You			bítè	You		
bátè	They, BA-			bètè	They, BA-		
létè	LE-			lítè	LE-		
kátè	KA-			kètè	KA-		
kótè	KO-			kútè	KO-		

(See Ford (in press) for a discussion of vowel harmony in other TRLs and in Ewe.)

Reduced vowel harmony. As I have stated, verbs marked for Aspect form one of the exceptions to the rules of vowel harmony. These verb forms, whose morphology and paradigms are treated on pp 281 ff , function in terms of a reduced vowel harmony. The Aspect markers all have the structure -(C) A (A)- , and these always harmonize with the Verb Stem, so that, for example, the Go-itive marker -TA- (see pp. 290ff) is realized as /-ta-/ before a Verb Stem with [-Advanced] vowels and as /-te-/ before a Verb Stem with [+Advanced] vowels. Similarly, non-High prefixes (i.e., those with the structure (C)A-) harmonize with the Aspect marker and the Verb Stem. Non-Low prefixes, however, all have the [+Advanced] allomorphs, so that the third person singular prefix, for example, O- is realized as /u-/ before an Aspect marker plus Verb Stem, regardless of whether they have [+Advanced] vowels or [-Advanced] vowels. Hence, we no longer have a set of

six prefix vowels, but instead one of four, as illustrated in Figure VI .

	<u>Prefix</u>			<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Stem</u>				
	A	E	O	A					
[+Advanced]	e	I	U	e	I	e	---	o	U
[-Advanced]	a	I	U	a	i	ε	a	ɔ	u

Figure VI

Reduced Vowel Harmony


(As before, /I/ merges with /i/ and /U/ merges with /u/ .) The difference between the two systems of full harmony and reduced harmony can be seen if the paradigms on pp. 64ff are compared with the paradigms overleaf, which are in the Negative Past. (The Negative marker is -TA-).

b̀̀t̀̀

ńtátè
 átátè
 útátè
 bútátè
 bítátè
 bátátè
 lítátè
 kátátè
 kútátè

'to judge'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-




didn't judge

b̀̀t̀̀

ńtétè
 ététè
 útétè
 bútétè
 bítétè
 bététè
 lítétè
 kététè
 kútétè

'to give'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-



didn't give

b̀̀d̀̀d̀̀

ńtádù

átádù

útádù

bútádù

bítádù

bátádù

lítádù

kátádù

kútádù

'to bite'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

} didn't bite

b̀̀d̀̀d̀̀

ńtádù

étédù

útédù

bútédù

bítédù

bétédù

lítédù

kétédù

kútédù

'to arrive'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

} didn't arrive

The way in which we deal with the data depends on the extent to which we want to allow diachronic information into the synchronic description of the language. On a purely synchronic level, the six Aspect markers can be handled in a two-step operation: in the first step, the overall vowel harmony rule is applied to the verb, and in the second step an ad hoc rule obligatorily makes all Non-Low prefixes $[+Advanced]$ (and $[+High]$ too, since the feature of $[+High]$ co-varies for Non-Low prefixes with that of $[+Advanced]$).

Vowel Harmony

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \# & (C) & V & C(C) & V & ((C) & V)* \\ & & [\text{Adv}] & & [\text{Adv}] & & [\text{Adv}] \end{array}$$

where * = iterative potential

Ad hoc Non-Low Prefix rule

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{High} \\ -\text{Low} \\ \text{Adv} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{====}) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} +\text{High} \\ -\text{Low} \\ +\text{Adv} \end{array} \right] \quad / \quad \text{Aspect}$$

This analysis, then, presumes that the underlying form for útátè 'he didn't judge' would be *ótátè, that the un-

derlying form for bítádù 'You didn't bite' would be *bétádù , etc.

While the process outlined above is descriptively adequate, it certainly doesn't explain why Non-Low prefixes are always $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{High} \\ +\text{Adv} \end{bmatrix}$ before an Aspect marker. If we allow historical/comparative evidence, however, we can both describe and explain the forms of the prefixes used before an Aspect marker, thought at the cost of some complexity in the rules.

Although the sound variously transcribed as $[\bar{e}]$, $[\text{œ}]$ or $[\text{ə}]$ no longer occurs as a surface vowel of Buem, it does still occur as a surface vowel in Likpe, as the $[+\text{Advanced}]$ counterpart of /a/ , which is $[-\text{Advanced}]$ in both Likpe and Buem. Although as yet I have not been able to work out the full pattern of Likpe-Lelɛmi-Lɛfana correspondences, one fact is quite clear: while Likpe noun stems with the /ɜ/ vowel tend to have Lelɛmi and Lɛfana cognates with the $[-\text{Advanced}]$ vowel /a/ , Likpe verb stems with the /ɜ/ vowel have Lelɛmi cognates with (usually) the $[+\text{Advanced}]$ /i/ or the $[+\text{Advanced}]$ /e/ . Assuming that the present Aspect marker--or at least some of them--have developed from verbs in Proto-

Buam, the not too distant ancestor of Likpe, Santrokofi, Akpafu/Lolobi, and Lelemi/Lèfana, and that the forms in the proto-language contained the *₃, what guesses can we make as to the historical development?

1. There is some evidence, though again not fully worked out, that current system of vowel harmony in the TRLs were developed into virtually their present forms well before the Proto-Buam group split off from the other TRLs. It is, therefore, safe to assume that if the ancestor of the Aspect marker had a [+Advanced] vowel, then the prefix to that Aspect marker also had a [+Advanced] vowel. There would be no change in the harmony pattern of the prefix and Aspect marker yet, even though the two might be affixed to a subsequent verb; this can be deduced comparatively on the basis of the harmony patterns of compound verbs in Igbo, for example, and internally on the basis of compound and derived noun formation in Buam. Synchronically, this would be represented by a rule like the Vowel Harmony rule of p. 70, which applies to all words in Buam consisting of only one stem and affixes and to the prefix and first stem of derived and compound nouns.

ii. The Aspect markers become fully bound and get reanalyzed as derivational affixes, parallel to the causative suffix (see pp. 247 *H*). As a derivational affix, the Aspect marker would thereby fall under the scope of the Vowel Harmony rule, though there is no reason to assume that its prefix would also fall under the scope of a reapplication of the Vowel Harmony rule. Synchronically, this would be effected by a rule shifting a boundary symbol from the right of the Aspect marker, where the boundary symbol preceded the following Verb Stem, to the left of the Aspect marker, where it would follow the prefix.

SD: # (C) V (C) V (V) # C V X

SC: # (C) V # (C) V (V) C V X

where X = any possible syllables or \emptyset followed by re-application of the Vowel Harmony rule.

iii. As part of the reanalysis of the Aspect marker as a derivational affix, its vowel gets assimilated to fit in with the rest of the vowel system by a rule like

3 Assimilation

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-High} \\ \text{+Low} \\ \text{-Back} \\ \text{+Adv} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{====} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{-High} \\ \text{-Low} \\ \text{-Back} \\ \text{Adv} \end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad \text{---} \quad (\text{C}) \quad [\text{Adv}]$$

According to this, a verb form like *útátè* 'he didn't judge' would have passed through the following stages:

- a. * $\begin{matrix} \# & 0 & T & 3 & \# & -t\grave{e} \\ [+Adv] & [+Adv] & & & [-Adv] \end{matrix}$ =====)
- b. * $\begin{matrix} \# & 0 & \# & T_3 & & -t\grave{e} \\ [+Adv] & & [+Adv] & & & [-Adv] \end{matrix}$ =====)
- c. * $\begin{matrix} \# & 0 & \# & t\acute{a} & & -t\grave{e} \\ [+Adv] & & [-Adv] & & & [-Adv] \end{matrix}$ =====)
- d. *útátè*

iv. Finally, if the verb has a Non-High prefix, the prefix harmonizes with the rest of the word and has the same height as the vowel of the Aspect marker. This would be accomplished by a rule like the 3Assimilation rule, which is very close to the structure rule for Non-High prefixes (see page 63).

This proposed diachronic analysis is speculative in places, but should be correct in its general outline; it is uncertain, however, to what extent the synchronic description of the language should incorporate this diachronic analysis.

The chart below lists the allomorphs of all the prefixes which are subject to Vowel Harmony, both in their full Vowel Harmony forms and in their reduced Vowel Harmony forms.

<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Full</u>		<u>Reduced</u>	
	<u>Harmony</u>		<u>Harmony</u>	
	[+Advanced]	[-Advanced]	[+Advanced]	[-Advanced]
O-	u-	ɔ-	u-	u-
A-	e-	a-	e-	a-
BA-	be-	ba-	be-	ba-
BE-	bi-	bɛ-	bi-	bi-
BO-	bu-	bɔ-	bu-	bu-
KA-	ke-	kə-	ke-	ka-
KO-	ku-	kɔ-	ku-	ku-
LE-	li-	lɛ-	li-	li-
MO-	mu-	mɔ-	mu-	mu-
NA-	ne-	na-	ne-	na-

Figure VII

Allomorphs of Prefixes

Tone

Buam is a register-type tone language with three level tones, called High, Mid, and Low.

úsè ɔtɔ

H L M M

3s+PAS+go house

'He went home.'

I perceive the interval between the High tone and the Mid tone as being "less" than that between the Mid tone. In addition to the three level tones, there are two gliding tones, one which glides from Mid or High to Low,

bliì 'few, little'

fwiì 'all, every'

and one which glides from Low to Mid,

àasè 'bird'

These gliding tones, however, are undoubtedly merely the phonetic result of a difference in the level of tone in two adjacent syllables which are not separated by any consonant; for this reason, these gliding tones do not have "tonemic" status (cf. Welmers, 1959) in the same way as

the three level tones.

Although the tones of particular classes of words may vary according to well-defined rules (e.g., the rules of tone change associated with possession on pp. 161-6), I have not identified any tonal "down-drift" or "terracing" analogous to that found in languages such as Igbo; a Mid tone towards the end of a sentence, even a fairly long sentence, seems to be on about the same pitch as a Mid tone towards the beginning, and it is never the case that a Low tone towards the end of a sentence is higher than a Mid tone anywhere in the sentence. "Down-step," however, (as opposed to "down-drift") does sometimes occur in possessive constructions.

Tone functions both lexically and syntactically. Lexical tone (in this grammar, called "inherent tone") refers to the tone that a particular word has in isolation or in some other specifiable "frame" (see Pike (1948)) and can differentiate between two words of the same word class which would otherwise be identical.

ɔfɛ 'calabash'

~

ɔfɛ 'sun'

lìlu	'roads'	~	lìlù	'yam'
bɔdu	'to kill'	~	bɔ̀dù	'to bite'
bɔta	'to sting'	~	bɔ̀tà	'to rise'

Inherent tone is especially important in the differentiation of nouns and in the differentiation of Verb Roots. Nouns are divided into two groups on the basis of their inherent tones. One group, much the smaller of the two, consists of those nouns which have three or more tones:

ùtsuli, bè-	'person'
àdilà	'food'
lɛnimì, a-	'eye'
àasè, bà-	'bird'
ɔ̀sikà, lè-	'knife'
ɔ̀klɔ̀ɔ̀, lè-	'canoe'
ɔ̀klantìè, lè-	'cutlass'
lìgulabi	'money'
ɔ̀klàma, bà-	'dog'
ɔ̀nà̀nà, bà-	'man'

Most of these nouns have prefixés on Low tone, and the inherent tone of nouns with three or more tones does not change in possessive constructions. The other group,

which contains the vast majority of the nouns in Buem, consists of nouns which have only two tones; this group is itself divided into three sub-groups:

i. Nouns with tones Low-Low

àtù, bà-	'elephant'
ùbì, bè-	'child'
kàbè, k̀-	'fish'

ii. Nouns with tones Mid-Mid

ɔtɔ, lɛ-	'house'
kuli, e-	'head'
kani, ba-	'porcupine'

and

iii. Nouns with tones Low-Mid

lifu, è-	'abandoned farm'
k̀yu, à-	'spirit, soul'
èse, bè-	'goat'

I have not found any disyllabic nouns with tones Mid-Low. The greatest number of minimal pairs is between nouns with tones Low-Mid and nouns with tones Low-Low:

lilu	'roads'	~	lilù	'yam'
̀kɔ	'a lie'	~	̀k̀	'sputum'
bàrà	'scorpions'	~	bàrà	'men'

bàti	'cats'	~	bàtì	'fathers'
lègba	'a proverb'	~	lègbà	'feet'
ḡja	'fire'	~	ḡjà	'a husband'
èse	'a goat'	~	èsè	'horns'

I have found one minimal triplet of nouns differentiated by tone and tone alone:

lènyi, à-	~	lènyi, à-	~	lenyi, a-
'breast'		'tooth'		'name'

one contrast Low-Mid and Mid-Mid:

ḡkpe, bà-	'toddler'	~	ḡkpe, ba-	'grasscutter'
-----------	-----------	---	-----------	---------------

and one contrast Low-Low and Mid-Mid:

ḡfè	'calabash'	~	ḡfè	'sun'
-----	------------	---	-----	-------

While a noun's noun class membership seems to bear little or no relationship to its tone, it seems that there are more nouns referring to animates which have Low tone prefixes than there are with Mid tone prefixes. The tone pattern of a disyllabic noun may be affected by certain constructions like the Possessive.

Like nouns, Verb Roots can be divided into two groups on the basis of tone. One group, again very much smaller than the other, consists of Verb Roots which have two or

more tones (Note that the tone of the Verb Prefix is NOT included in the number of tones):

bɔtɛmi	'to speak'
bɔlɛmi	'to open'
bɔbɔmɔdi	'to try'
bɔkàkà	'to shine brightly'

The other group consists of Verb Roots containing only one tone, the tone of affixes excluded, and is subdivided into Mid tone Verb Roots and Low tone Verb Roots, based on their tone in the Infinitive:

bɔdu	'to kill'	~	bɔdù	'to bite'
bɔfwɪ	'to spit'	~	bɔfwì	'to be sick'
bɔta	'to sting'	~	bɔtà	'to rise'
bɔfɔ	'to accept'	~	bɔfɔ̀	'to wash'
bɔdia	'to suffice'	~	bɔdìà	'to be good'

High tones are never found in Noun Stems nor in Verb Roots or Verb Stems.

Syntactically, tone characterizes certain constructions, such as the Affirmative Past Progressive and the Affirmative Present Progressive:

ɔɔdu	'he has killed'	~	ɔɔdu	'he is killing'
ɔɔdù	'he has bitten'	~	ɔɔdù	'he is biting'

In these cases, the inherent tone of a morpheme may be altered by the effects of the syntactic tone(s) associated with the construction, as for the Negative Future:

ùládù 'he won't kill' - ùlàdu 'he won't bite'

Part III. The Sentence.

The Sentence

Sentences can be divided into four types on the basis of clause structure:

- i. Simple sentences, consisting of only one clause,
 - ii. Compound sentences, consisting of two or more clauses joined by a co-ordinate conjunction,
 - iii. Complex sentences, consisting of a main clause and a subordinate clause introduced by a subordinate conjunction, and
 - iv. Compound complex sentences, consisting of two or more sentences, at least one of which is a complex sentence, joined by a co-ordinate conjunction.
- (Relative clauses are not considered for the purpose of this classification,) nor are verbal complement clauses.) I deal with compound and complex sentences in Part VI.

Sentences can be further classified as to whether they are:

- i. Declarative,
- ii. Interrogative,
- iii. Imperative, or
- iv. Exclamatory,

with Interrogative, Imperative, and Exclamatory sentences being considered as essentially being optional variants of Declarative sentences; the reason for this is that all the rules which apply to Declarative sentences also apply to the other three types of sentence, but the converse does not hold.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{P 1.} \quad \# \quad S \quad (\text{Conj}_C + S)^* \quad \# \\
 \text{P 2.} \quad S \text{ ----) } (\text{Conj}_S + \text{Sent})^* \text{ Sent} \quad \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{INTER} \\ \text{IMPER} \\ \text{EXCLAM} \end{array} \right)
 \end{array}$$

(The asterisk, *, following a symbol denotes the possibility of indefinite recursion.)

Questions. Buem has both Yes-No questions and the equivalent of English Wh- questions, which entail the use of an interrogative word; I discuss Wh- questions on pp. 455-8 . Other than through the use of an inter-

rogative word, questions differ from statements in that the final syllable of the sentence is prolonged and is on a Mid tone; if the final syllable is a -V- type syllable, then the penultimate syllable is also on a Mid tone. This applies to both Yes-No and Wh- questions.

T 1. C (V) V₁ ^{+ INTER} =====) C (V̇) V̇₁ V̇₁

This can be illustrated by the following sentences:

1a. banabì béyù àk>ǩ.

boys 3p+PAS+steal chicken

'The boys stole a chicken.'

b. banabì béyù àk>ǩ>?

boys 3p+PAS+steal chicken?

'Did the boys steal a chicken?'

2a. lédìà.

LE+PAS+be-good

'It's OK.'

b. lédiaa?

LE+PAS+be-good?

'Was it OK?'

3a. àaŋwà lîlù.

2s+PRES+harvest yam

'You are harvesting yams.'

b. àaŋwà lîluu?

2s+PRES+harvest yam?

'Are you harvesting yams?'

4a. banam bálè.

children 3p+PAS+sleep

'The children slept.'

b. banam bálɛɛ?

children 3p+PAS+sleep?

'Did the children sleep?'

Exclamations. Exclamations differ from statements in that exclamations end in oo .

5. banabî béyù àk>k> oo.

boys 3p+PAS+steal chicken!

'The boys stole a chicken!'

6. lèdîa oo.

LE+PRES+be-good!

'It's fine!'

7. àaṇwà lílù oo.

2s+PRES+harvest yam!

'You're harvesting yam!'

8. banam bálè oo.

children 3p+PAS+sleep!

'The children slept!'

Imperatives. I discuss imperatives on pp. 320-3 .

Basic clause structure. With one exception, discussed on p 334 , all sentences, whether they are declarative, interrogative, exclamatory, or imperative, have a Noun Phrase (NP) as their subject followed by a Verb Phrase (VP):

P 3. Sent ---) NP + VP

This is the case even when there is no overt subject since the subject of a sentence can be deleted optionally when the verb agrees with the subject in person or noun class and in number (see page 333).

9. banabì béyù àk>k>.

'The boys stole a chicken.'

can yield

10. béyù àkɔkɔ.

&They stole a chicken.'

since béyù agrees with banabì in noun class and number, but

11. banabì néyù àkɔkɔ.

boys REL+PAS+steal chicken

'Boys stole a chicken.'

cannot yield

12. *néyù àkɔkɔ

*'stole a ^{chicken} dog',

since néyù does not agree with banabì in noun class and number, so there could be no recoverable deletion of the subject of the sentence.

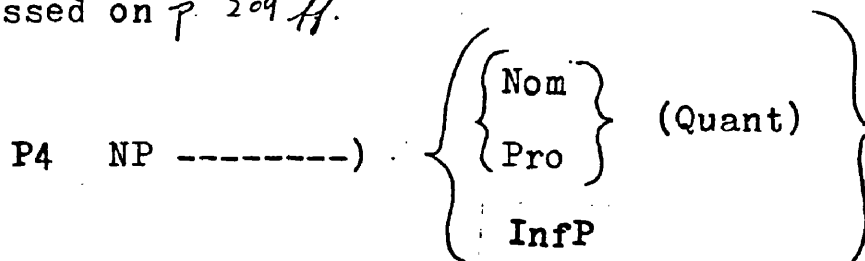
Part IV. The Noun Phrase

Types of Noun Phrase

There are three types of Noun Phrase:

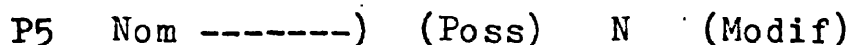
- i. a Nominal type (Nom),
- ii. a Pronominal type (Pro), and
- iii. an Infinitival type (InfP).

Both the Nominal type of Noun Phrase and the Pronominal type may be followed by an optional Quantifier (Quant), discussed on p. 209 H.



The Nominal Type of Noun Phrase

The Nominal type of Noun Phrase consists of a Noun (N), which may be modified by a Possessor (Poss) preceding it and/or by other Modifiers (Modif) following it.



There are three types of Noun:

- i. Simple Nouns (N_{Simp}),
- ii. Compound Nouns (N_{Comp}), and
- iii. Derived Nouns (N_{Der}).

P6 N -----)

{ N_{Simp}
 N_{Comp}
 N_{Der}

Simple Nouns

A Simple Noun consists of a Noun Class marker (NC) followed by a Noun Stem (NSt) followed by an optional Noun Suffix (NSuff).

P7 N_{Simp} -----) NC + NSt (NSuff)

The form and function of the Noun Class markers is discussed on p 97 and on pp 119~~ff~~ ; the form of the Noun Suffixes is discussed on p 117. Since the phonological form of the Noun Stem has been discussed on pp 396-77~~ff~~ I will concern myself here solely with a discussion of its syntax. Basically, the Noun Stem contains everything one needs to know about a noun in order to use

it correctly in a sentence. In an Aspects-model TG, this knowledge is considered as being of two sorts, one phonological and the other syntactic, both coming together to form a "lexical entry" (Chomsky, 1965:84 ff and passim). The syntactic information is contained in a "Complex Symbol" (CS_N) which consists of a variety of features characteristic of the use of that noun:

P8 NSt ----- CS_N

While some of these features are contextual, ~~most~~ can be described in terms of selectional features. The features I use for Buem include information on the following:

- i. What Noun Class(es) the noun belongs to, a contextual feature symbolized as, e.g., $[Ia_]$, $[Ib_]$, $[II_]$, $[III_]$, ... , $[XVII_]$;
- ii. Whether the noun is animate $[\pm\text{Animate}]$;
- iii. If $[+\text{Animate}]$, whether the noun is human $[\pm\text{Human}]$;
- iv. If $[-\text{Animate}]$, whether the noun is a count noun $[\pm\text{Count}]$;
- v. If $[-\text{Count}]$, whether the noun is an abstract noun $[\pm\text{Abstract}]$; and
- vi. If $[-\text{Animate}]$, whether the noun is a place noun $[\pm\text{Place}]$.

Obviously, these categories of formal features form only a partial sampling of the total features possible, and there are a great many more categories which could be proposed to exclude the equivalent of

*John is baking a book.;

however, a point of diminishing returns soon sets in, and the **six** features I use should be sufficient to categorize nouns for this grammar.

In the sample lexicon below, I have used some principles of redundancy (cf. Chomsky, 1965:164fff) in collapsing the number of features stated explicitly. For example, since all [+Human] nouns are also [+Animate], the feature [+Animate] is redundant and can be omitted. Similarly, since all [+Abstract] nouns are both [-Count] and [-Animate], the latter two features are also redundant and can be omitted. In one sense, it is redundant to give the Noun Stem together with the prefix(es) that it takes and to state in the complex symbol which prefix(es) can occur with the Noun Stem; however, there is some justification for this since the Noun Class prefixes also indicate the vowel harmony pattern of the Noun

Stem and do carry tone.

Sample Lexicon

ɔ̃.namù	ba-	[Ia__, +Human]	'child'
ò.lòku	bè-	[Ia__, +Human]	'woman'
è.se	bè-	[Ib__, +Animate]	'goat'
ɔ̃.t̃	lɛ-	[II__, -Animate, +Count]	'house, room'
li.bwi	e-	[IV__, -Animate, +Count]	'pot'
kà.jì	bà-	[V__, +Animate]	'monkey'
kà.bwa	kɔ̃-	[VI__, -Animate, +Count]	'hat'
kɔ̃.di	a-	[VIII__, -Animate, +Count]	'cloth'
n.te		[XI__, -Count, -Abstract]	'palm wine'
a.nimì		[XII__, -Count, -Abstract]	'rice'
kɔ̃.sɔ̃		[XVI__, -Count, +Abstract]	'thinness'
$\begin{bmatrix} u \\ ku \end{bmatrix}$ ji	$\begin{bmatrix} li- \\ e- \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} [II_ \\ VIII_] \end{bmatrix}$, -Animate, +Count	$\begin{bmatrix} 'stick' \\ 'tree' \end{bmatrix}$

At this stage, a (partly pruned) derivational tree would look something like Figure VIII

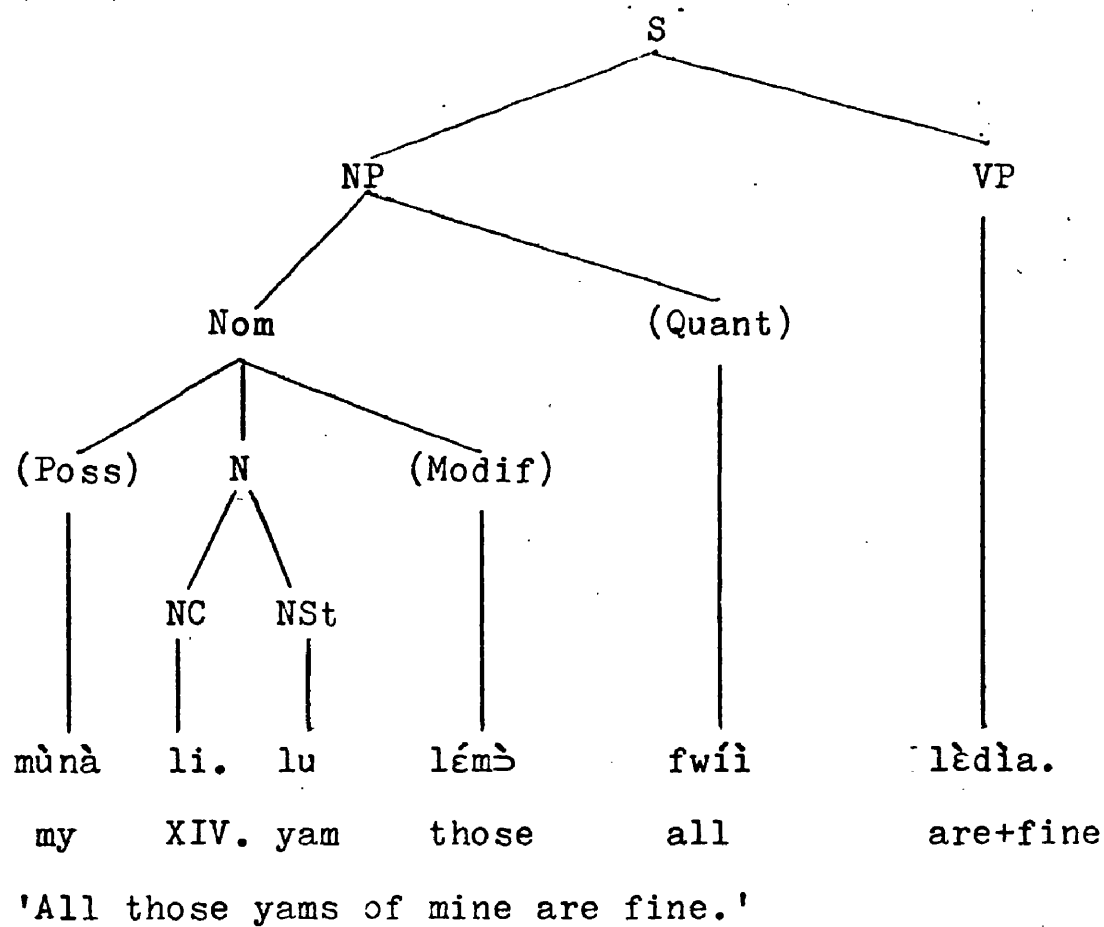


Figure VIII
Partial Expansion of NP

The Noun Class System

Every noun in Lèlèmi belongs to one of 18 different noun classes. These noun classes are like gender in languages such as French, German, or Latin in that both noun class membership and gender determine the form of concord and agreement in word classes like adjectives, determiners, pronouns, and finite verb forms; a system of noun classes differs from a gender system, however, in that a noun in a language with a noun class system has its noun class membership marked morphologically in the noun itself --in the case of Lèlèmi and other TRLs by prefixing the Noun Class marker to the Noun Stem--whereas the gender of a noun in a language with a gender system is oftentimes not shown in the noun itself, but is marked rather in the agreement forms alone, which may be independent of the morphological shape of the noun. The distinction between the two systems can be brought out clearly by contrasting the words for 'house' in Lèlèmi and French: the O- prefix to the Lèlèmi

word ɔtɔ shows instantly and unambiguously that ɔtɔ is a member of a class of nouns whose concord and agreement forms are formed by \emptyset - :

$\text{ɔ.tɔ} \text{ ɔ.fwaladi} \text{ ɔ.mè} \text{ ɔ.dia.}$

O.house O.white O.this O.is+good.

'This white house is good.'

There is no analogous marking, however, in the French word *maison* to show that *maison* is a member of a class of nouns which have feminine concord and agreement forms:

Ce.tte maison blanc.he est bon.ne.

This.Fem house white.Fem is good.Fem.

'This white house is good.'

De Wolf (1971:32ff) discusses the difference between gender systems and noun class systems in rather more detail.

There are nine different prefixes which are used to indicate noun class membership; the posited underlying representations of these prefixes are A-, O-, BA-, BO-, KA-, KO-, LE-, N-, and \emptyset , with surface

realizations as described on page 75. The total of 18 noun classes is the result of the use of some of these prefixes to mark the singular forms of some nouns and the plural forms of others: there are 10 noun classes in which the singular form of the noun has a different prefix from the plural form and 8 noun classes in which there is no difference in the prefix, regardless of whether the noun is singular, plural, or mass. Figure IX tabulates the possible combinations of Noun Class prefixes to form the different noun classes together with the number of members of each noun class in a fairly representative sample of 308 non-derived nouns.

There is still a great deal of semantic content attached to individual noun classes, in the sense that the nouns associated with particular categories of natural objects tend to belong to particular noun classes: I can be fairly sure, for example, that if I elicit the name of a bird previously unknown to me, that name will belong to Class III, LE/BA, even before my informant's response.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Ia.	O-	BA-	45
b.	A-	BA-	24
II.	O-	LE-	51
III.	LE-	BA-	16
IV.	LE-	A-	47
V.	KA-	BA-	15
VI.	KA-	KO-	34
VII.	KO-	BA-	4
VIII.	KO-	A-	20
IX.	KA-	N-	3
X.	Ø-	BA-	5

Mass (Common)

XI.	N-	9
XII.	A-	11
XIII.	O-	7
XIV.	LE-	17
XV.	KA-	8
XVI.	KO-	6
XVII.	Ø-	10
XVIII.	BO-	*

Figure IX

The Noun Classes

* All members are derived

Noun Class Ia., O/BA, contains most animate nouns which

i. Refer to humans:

̀̀nà̀̀nà	bà̀̀nà̀̀nà	'man'
̀̀lò̀̀ku	bè̀̀lò̀̀ku	'woman'
ubi	bebi	'child'
̀̀ti	bà̀̀ti	'father'
̀̀ŋwa	bà̀̀ŋwa	'sibling'
̀̀kpe	bà̀̀kpe	'toddler'
̀̀kpà̀̀na	bà̀̀kpà̀̀na	'companion'
̀̀fɔ	bà̀̀fɔ	'stranger'
ɔga	baga	'chief'
̀̀cwiri	bè̀̀cwiri	'person'

ii. Which show reduplication:

̀̀gbangbà	bà̀̀gbangbà	'Pied crow'
̀̀kɔ̀̀kɔ	bà̀̀kɔ̀̀kɔ	'snail'
̀̀klɔ̀̀kɔ	bà̀̀klɔ̀̀kɔ	'big brown squirrel'
̀̀mwemwe	bà̀̀mwemwe	'firefly'
̀̀sansà	bà̀̀sansà	'black kite'

iii. Which may have been borrowed:

̀̀kɔ̀̀tɔ̀̀kɔ	bà̀̀kɔ̀̀tɔ̀̀kɔ	'porcupine'
̀̀klà̀̀ma	bà̀̀klà̀̀ma	'dog'

odeŋke	baɗeŋke	'crocodile'
--------	---------	-------------

ɔ̀nàncwi	bà̀nàncwi	'cow'
----------	-----------	-------

iv. or Which are Derived Agent Nouns (see pp. 135ff):

ɔ̀dunè	baɗunè	'killer'
--------	--------	----------

ɔ̀ŋwanè	baŋwanè	'cook'
---------	---------	--------

ɔ̀tìnane	bàtìnane	'teacher'
----------	----------	-----------

ùdinè	bèdinè	'weaver'
-------	--------	----------

ɔ̀kpàlane	bàkpàlane	'fetish priest'
-----------	-----------	-----------------

There is a small number of other animate nouns in this noun class which don't seem to fit into any of the above sub-categories:

ɔ̀kpe	bakpe	'grasscutter'
-------	-------	---------------

ɔ̀kànane	bàkànane	'leopard'
----------	----------	-----------

ɔ̀kpa	bàkpa	'ram'
-------	-------	-------

Noun Class 1b., A/BA, contains the names of animals, in the widest sense, which are commonly found around the house and the names of some big game animals as well:

ebuɔ	bebuɔ	'animal'
------	-------	----------

àasè	bàasè	'bird'
------	-------	--------

èse	bèse	'goat'
-----	------	--------

àna	bàna	'scorpion'
àkɔ̀kɔ̀	bàkɔ̀kɔ̀	'chicken'
àlèlè	bàlèlè	'midge ant'
àklɔ̀ma	bàklɔ̀ma	'black-shouldered kite; lizard buzzard'
akungɔ̀	bakungɔ̀	'worm'
àyìkpe	bàyìkpe	'mouse'
alɔ̀lɔ̀	balɔ̀lɔ̀	'fly'
àbɔ̀tɔ̀	bàbɔ̀tɔ̀	'bush-pig'
atu	batu	'elephant'
etu	betu	'flying termite'

This class also includes a couple of words, most likely borrowed, which refer to humans:

àasì	bàasì	'wife's mother'
àsantinè	bàsantinè	'slave'

Noun Class II, O/LE, generally, but far from invariably, refers to artifacts and to domesticated crops:

ɔ̀bèdiè	lèbèdiè	'plantain'
ɔ̀kɛè	lèkɛè	'cutlass'
ùlu	lìlu	'road'

ḡfè	lèfè	'calabash'
ḡḡ	lèḡ	'story'
ḡnta	lènta	'corn'
ḡkpanà	lèkpanà	'okra'
ḡma	lèma	'town'
upo	lipo	'palm-wine torch'
ḡsiì	lèsiì	'gourd'
ḡtḡ	lètḡ	'house'

It also contains a few body parts:

ḡgbà	lègbà	'foot/leg'
ḡka	lèka	'tail'
ḡkwe	lèkwe	'throat'
ḡlè	lèlè	'sore, wound'
ḡlḡna	lèlḡna	'skin'
ùtù	lìtù	'heart'

Noun Class III, LE/BA, contains:

i. The names of various tribes:

lèlèmi	bàlèmi	'Lèlèmi'
lèfana	bàfana	'Lèfana'
lèlè	bàlè	'Santrokofi'

lìkpèlɛ	bàkpèlɛ	'Likpe'
lifu	befu	'Akpafu-Lolobi'

ii. The names of most birds and bats:

lɛbɔbɔ	babɔbɔ	'speckled pigeon'
lìgbwini	bègbwini	'hooded vulture'
lèjina	bàjina	'fox-faced bat'
lìkùkù	bèkùkù	'owl'
lèkpafɛ	bàkpafɛ	'"swallow"'
lèmàngbɛ	bàmàngbɛ	'laughing dove'
lɛpa	bapa	'fruit bat'

In addition, one informant has given me:

lìkuùbi	bèkuùbi	'worm'
---------	---------	--------

Noun Class IV, LE/A, contains nouns referring to:

i. Some kitchen utensils:

lècami	àcami	'plate'
libwi	ebwi	'pot'
libokù	ebokù	'chair'

ii. Most body parts:

lɛnimì	animì	'eye'
lènyi	ànyi	'tooth'

lènyì	ànyì	'breast'
lèfwì	àfwì	'fingernail'
lìsè	èsè	'horn'

iii. Natural events and objects:

limeì	emeì	'day'
lekwa	akwa	'year'
lìtù	ètù	'ant hill'
leku	aku	'forest'
lètabi	àtabi	'stone'
lìfù	èfù	'abandoned farm'

iv. A wide variety of other things:

liku	eku	'clan, family'
likpo	ekpo	'place, site, knot'
lègbà	àgbà	'proverb'
lela	ala	'thing'
lìkukù	èkukù	'piece'
lènyi	anyi	'name'
leyabì	ayabì	'star'

Additionally, Noun Class IV is the noun class to which
Derived Nouns of Suitability (see pp 142/4) are assigned:

lèdilà	àdilà	'food'
--------	-------	--------

lìdìlà	èdìlà	'needle'
lètàlà	àtalà	'mat'
lèvalà	avalà	'egg'
lèdalà	adalà	'cutting tool'

Noun Class V, KA/BA, contains the names of animals that mostly live in the bush:

kaji	baji	'small brown monkey'
kanverè	banverè	'adult palm tree beetle'
kape	bape	'duika'
kesi	besi	'rat'
kani	bani	'porcupine'
keyu	beyu	'monkey'

Noun Class VI, KA/KO, contains a miscellany of things and, historically, may have been the class to which diminutives were assigned.

kàbèè	kòbèè	'twig'
kàbwa	kòbwa	'hat'
kabulì	kòbulì	'vine; moon, month'

kadruì	kɔdruì	'compound'
kajɛ	kɔjɛ	'basket'
kama	kɔma	'back'
kàwɛ	kɔwɛ	'mortar'

There is an interesting relationship between Noun Class V and Noun Class VI in that certain animate nouns with a KA- prefix in the singular can take either a BA- prefix or a KO- prefix in the plural. As far as I can tell, this occurs only with the word for 'fish' and with the names of certain reptiles and insects:

kàbè	kɔbè/	'fish'
	bàbè	
kàjèjɛè	kɔjèjɛè/	'nocturnal moth'
	bàjèjɛè	
kàpàtiyalè	kɔpàtiyalè	'lizard'
	bàpàtiyalè	
kàtàmùkpà	kɔtàmùkpà	'scorpion'
	bàtàmùkpà	
kèjàngbɛ	kɔjàngbɛ	'tortoise'
	bàjàngbɛ	

I have been unable to determine if this alternation is dialectal or idiolectal.

Noun Class VII, KO/BA, contains only the names of a few animates:

kofonù	bafonù	'sheep'
kòlākpi	bàlākpi	'snake'
kòpòò	bàpòò	'lizard'

Noun Class VIII, KO/A, contains the names of:

i. Some natural objects:

kɔbi	abi	'mountain'
kubo	ebo	'palm tree'
kufi	efi	'bush path'
kuji	eji	'tree'

ii. Some body parts:

kuli	eli	'head'
kòvwi	àvwi	'wing'
kònu	ènu	'hand'

Noun Class IX, KA/N, contains only about half a dozen miscellaneous items:

kabo	mbo	'medicine'
kemo	mmo	'farm'

Noun Class X, Ø/BA, contains onomatopoeic or borrowed names for animates:

gbɔkpɔ	bàgbɔkpɔ	'duck'
wɛwɛ	bàwɛwɛ	'dog'
kòkòliòkò	bàkòkòliòkò	'rooster'

Noun Class XI, N-, contains a number of non-count, mass nouns, including many referring to liquids:

ḡkpa	'life'
m̩la	'law'
m̩ma	'salt'
nnɔ	'oil'
ḡpàt̩àhi	'trouble'
ntɛ	'liquid; palm wine'
ntɔ	'ashes'
ntu	'water'
ḡtubwa	'sandflies' (!)

Most of the members of Noun Classes XII through XVI are non-count nouns; that is, they cannot generally be followed by a number. Some of these non-count nouns are:

Noun Class XII, A₊ :

aba	'mud'
èfi	'mud'
animì	'rice'
ànta	'corn'

Noun Class XIII, O- :

ùbòja	'blood'
ùfi	'lime'
ùwɔ	'honey'

Noun Class XIV, LE- :

lena	'meat'
lìsùo	'sweat'
lèmwì	'fat'

Noun Class XV; KA- :

kana	'porridge'
kamu	'rice'
kètì	'thatch'
katɔ	'roof, Heaven, above'

Noun Class XVI, KO- :

kutu	'soup'
kòmìniwì	'sand'

It should be noted, however, that not all members of Noun Classes XII-XVI are non-count: some members, for example, of Noun Class XIV, LE-, can take a number after them:

lilu líṇwí	'one yam'
lilu été	'three yams'
lèṇwa líṇwí	'one grey hair'
lèṇwa été	'three grey hairs'
lèlò líṇwí	'one body'
lèlò été	'three bodies'

and so can Derived Nouns of Place (see *PP. 153-154*), which are members of Noun Class XV, KA- :

kadikò kúnwí	'one kingdom'
kadikò été	'three kingdoms'
kanwakò kúnwí	'one kitchen'
kanwakò été	'three kitchens'
kàṇwàkò kúnwí	'one harvest place'
kàṇwàkò été	'three harvest places'

In addition, one or two informants had plural forms for some words which are invariable for other informants; this was primarily the case for nouns in Noun Class XIII, O-, which had plurals formed by analogy with Noun Class II, O/LE :

ɔ̃fɛ	(lɛfɛ)	'sun'
ɔ̃ja	(lɛ̃ja)	'fire'

and much less so for nouns in Noun Class XV, KA-, which had plurals formed by analogy with Noun Class VI, KA/KO :

kadikɔ̃	(kɔ̃dikɔ̃)	'kingdom'
kanwakɔ̃	(kɔ̃ɲwakɔ̃)	'kitchen'
kasɔ̃	(kɔ̃sɔ̃)	'thinness'.

Noun Class XVII, Ø, consists of:

- i. unassimilated loan words, mostly borrowed from Twi:

ãrube	'pineapple'
akutu	'orange'
àpintìma	'small drum'
sìka	'money'

jàdi	(from Ewe)	'kitchen'
lɔ̀rɪ	(from English)	'truck, lorry'

ii. proper names, including the names of people, countries, and towns:

kòfi		'Kofi' (boy's name)
amà		'Ama' (girl's name)
atà		'Attah' ('Twin')
mensà		'Mensah' ('Third-Born')
kwàsi		'Kwasi' (boy's name)
ganà		'Ghana'
àmerìkà		'America'
àblɔ̀ci	(from Ewe)	'overseas, esp. England'
legɔ̀lɔ̀		'Baglo' (town)
hó		'Ho' (town)
ṛkraà		'Accra' (city)
kùmasi		'Kumasi' (city)

The names of the residents of a particular area form a subcategory of this second class of the members of Noun Class XVII; this names are formed by suffixing the Akan formative --fo '-(i)an, -er' to the name of the town or country:

ganafo	'Ghanaian(s)'
àmerikafo	'American(s)'
hɔhoifo	'Hohoe people'
lɛɔlofo	'Baglo people'
twifo	'Twi speaker(s)'

Noun Class XVIII, B0-, consists solely of infinitives, which are discussed on *Pf 224ff.*

bɔŋwa	'cooking'
bɔŋwà	'harvesting'
bùmwi	'praising'
budiè	'removing'

Co-occurrence restrictions on prefixes. Normally, a noun stem can belong to only one noun class, e.g., the noun stem -nàà 'man' is found only with the prefixes from Noun Class Ia., O/BA, to form ɔ̀nàà, bàà 'man, men', and never, say, with the prefixes from Noun Class VI, KA/KO: *kànàà, *kɔ̀nàà. Some noun stems, however, are found with the prefixes from more than one class, though with a somewhat different meaning with each dif-

ferent set of prefixes; thus there is the triplet

ntu	(Cl. XI)	~	ketu	(Cl. XV)	~	kutu	(Cl. XVI)
'water'			'river'			'soup'	

all of which have the central meaning of 'something to do with water.' In Bantu languages, this type of morphological/semantic development is quite widespread; (cf. Heny, 1972); in Buem, however, this behavior is no longer productive and is restricted primarily to the formation of abstracts:

ṣṇwa, bà-	(Cl. Ia)	~	kṣṇwa	(Cl. XVI)
'sib'			'relationship'	
ṣti, ba-	(Cl. Ia)	~	kṣti	(Cl. XVI)
'father'			'paternity'	

and even then it is largely restricted to forming doublets with infinitives:

bṣṇwa	(Cl. XVIII)	~	leṇwa	(Cl. XIV)
'cooking'			'way of cooking'	
butemi	(Cl. XVIII)	~	litemi	(Cl. XIV)
'speaking'			'way of speaking; language'	
buye	(Cl. XVIII)	~	kuyee	(Cl. XVI)
'trading'			'trade'	

For further comment, see my discussion of derived nouns, pp. 157ff.

Noun Suffixes

The two Noun Suffixes in Buem are -fo 'resident of ...' and -BI 'young, immature'.

P9 NSuff -----) (-fo) (-BI)

As mentioned on page 114, -fo can be suffixed to a place name to denote an inhabitant of that place:

ganafo	'Ghanaian(s)'
hɔhoifo	'Hohoe people'
kutefo	'Kute people'
twifo	'Twi speaker(s)'

-BI can be suffixed to a noun (almost always an animate noun) to refer to a young or immature specimen; it has the same tone as the syllable preceding it.

T2 SD: .X + C V + -BI ±

SC: X + C V + -bi ±

[~LoTo] [~LoTo]

ɛ̀nàbì	bà-	'boy(s)'
òlòkubì	bè-	'girl(s)'
ɛ̀klàmabì	bà-	'puppy'
jàtabì	bà-	'lion cub'

- àasèbì bà-

'baby bird'

Yaobi

'little Yao'

ganafobi

'little Ghanaian(s)'

-BI is also used with one or two inanimate nouns to denote unfinished products:

Èntabi

'unprocessed corn'

or young residents:

skubi

'school-children'

ganabi

'young Ghanaian(s)'

-BI is presumably the stem for the noun ubi, be-'child'.

There is one slight problem with respect to noun suffixes, for parallel to the noun lètabi, à- 'stone' is the noun lètakpa, à- 'mountain', where -kpa is presumably some sort of augmentive; as far as I can tell, however, -kpa is not paired with -BI elsewhere, and there is no noun *lèta ?'boulder'. Höftmann (1965) did tentatively identify -kpa as a formative; however, some of her examples were obvious borrowings from Ewe. At present, it seems that the -kpa of lètakpa, à- is on a par with the "cran-" of "cranberry."

Concord and Agreement

Robins (1964:249) defines concord and agreement "as the requirement that the forms of two or more words of specific word classes that stand in specific syntactic relationship with one another shall also be characterized by the same paradigmatically marked category (or categories)." In Buem, the categories that determine syntactic concord and agreement are number and the form of the Noun Class prefix to the Noun, thereby satisfying Winston's "strong" definition of a noun class language (Winston, 1962). In this grammar, I use the term "concord" to refer to the relationship which occurs in endocentric constructions, i.e., to the relationship between a Noun and certain of its modifiers, and the term "agreement" to refer to the relationship which occurs in exocentric constructions, i.e., between a Noun and pronouns referring to that Noun and between the subject of a verb and most finite forms of the verb.

There is syntactic concord between a Noun and the

following parts of speech which modify that Noun:

- i. Participles,
- ii. Ordinal numbers and cardinal number úṇwí '1',
- iii. Determiners, and
- iv. Relative Pronouns.

Concord takes the following forms:

i. If the Noun is in the singular and belongs to any of Noun Classes Ia, Ib, II, X, or XVII, or if it is non-count and belongs to Noun Class XIII (i.e., if the Noun is prefixed by O- , by "animate" A- , or by "singular" Ø-), then the concordial prefix is O- :

Ṣnàná ṣmè	'this man'
atu ṣmè	'this elephant'
ṣtṣ ṣmè	'this house'
akutu ṣmè	'this orange'
ùwo ṣmè	'this honey'

ii. If the Noun is in the plural and belongs to any of Noun Classes Ia, Ib, III, V, VII, X, or XVII or if it is non-count and belongs to Noun Class XVII (i.e., if the Noun is prefixed by BA- or "non-singular" Ø-), then the concordial prefix is BA- :

bàràrà bámbè	'these men'
batu bámbè	'these elephants'
bàlèmi bámbè	'these Lèlèmi'
baji bámbè	'these small monkeys'
bafonù bámbè	'these sheep'
bàwewe bámbè	'these dogs'
twifò bámbè	'these Twi-speakers'

iii. If the Noun is in the plural and belongs to either Noun Class IV or Noun Class VIII or if it is non-count and belongs to Noun Class XII (i.e., if the Noun is prefixed by "inanimate" A-), then the concordial prefix is A- :

èbwì ámbè	'these pots'
adi ámbè	'these cloths'
animì ámbè	'this rice'

iv. If the Noun is in the plural and belongs to Noun Class IX or if it belongs to either Noun Class XI or Noun Class XVIII (i.e., if the Noun is prefixed by either N- or BO-), then the concordial prefix is BO- :

mmo bómè	'these farms'
----------	---------------

ntu bómè

'this water'

bɔdu bómè

'this killing'

v. All Nouns prefixed with LE- have concordial forms in LE- , regardless of number or Noun Class:

lɛtɔ lémè

'these houses'

lɪbwɪ lémè

'this pot'

lɛlɛmi lémè

'this Lɛlɛmi'

lɪlù lémè

'this yam, these yams'

vi. All Nouns prefixed with KA- have concordial forms in KA- , regardless of number or Noun Class:

kaji kámè

'this small monkey'

kàbwa kámè

'this hat'

kemo kámè

'this farm'

kamu kámè

'this rice'

vii. All Nouns prefixed with KO- have concordial forms in KO- , regardless of number or Noun Class:

kɔbwa kómè

'these hats'

kɔdi kómè

'this cloth'

kofonù kómè

'this sheep'

kutu kómè

'this soup'

These concordial forms are tabulated in Figure X

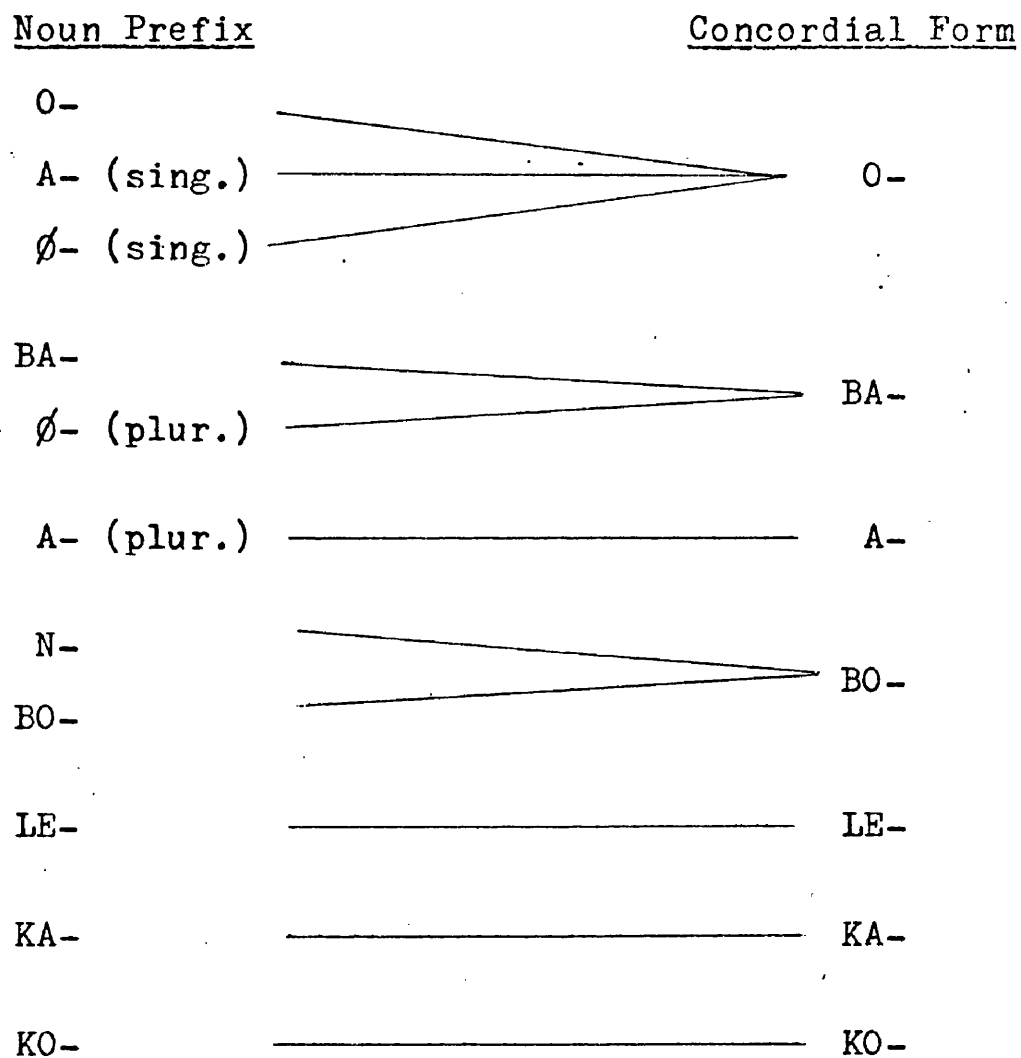


Figure X

Noun Concordial Forms

and are introduced transformationally by agreement rules (cf. Chomsky, 1965:175) which operate on the "Conc" segment of Phrase-structure rules like the one for Relative Pronouns (see page 201),

P27 RelP -----) Conc + -ni

The agreement rule for Buem is:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{T3} \\
 \text{Conc} ==) \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{O-} \\ \text{BA-} \\ \text{A-} \\ \text{BO-} \\ \text{LE-} \\ \text{KA-} \\ \text{KO-} \end{array} \right] / \left[\begin{array}{l} [+N, \{Ia, Ib, II, X, XIII, \\ \quad \quad \quad XVII\} +Sing] \\ [+N, \{Ia, Ib, III, V, VII, \\ \quad \quad \quad X, XVII\} -Sing] \\ [+N, \{IV, VIII, XII\} -Sing] \\ [+N, \{IX, XI, XVIII\} -Sing] \\ [+N, \quad LE \quad \quad] \\ [+N, \quad KA \quad \quad] \\ [+N, \quad KO \quad \quad] \end{array} \right] + Y + \text{Conc}
 \end{array}$$

where Y = intervening modifiers of N

I discuss agreement on pp. 213-222 and pp. 238ff.

Compound Nouns

A compound noun results from the fusion of one noun either with another noun or, less frequently, with a verb stem. While there are a great many compound nouns currently in use, it seems that the process of compounding is no longer productive; it is this lack of productivity that separates compound nouns from derived nouns.

Noun + Noun combinations. Historically, it seems that this type of compound noun was formed from the fusion of the singular or non-count forms of the two nouns involved--parallel to the English compounds 'bookend', 'busstop', etc.--rather than from the fusion of plural forms, *'booksend', *'busesstop', and that the first of the two nouns was structurally a possessor of the second. The following rule schematizes the most common method of fusion:

	1	2	3	4
SD:	±	NC + NSt	± ±	NC + NSt ±
SC:	±	3 + 2 + 4	± /	3 = CV-

Restated, if the (singular or non-count) Noun Class prefix of the second noun consists of a consonant followed by a vowel, then the Noun Class prefix of the first noun is deleted and the Noun Class prefix of the second noun takes its place.

èse	+	leyu	====)	lìseyu	'goat sty'
'goat'		'shed'			
kofonù	+	leyu	====)	lɛfonùyu	'sheep sty'
'sheep'		'shed'			
ḡgà	+	libokù	====)	lègàbokù	'throne'
'chief'		'stool'			
ḡgà	+	kàbwa	====)	kàgàbwa	'crown'
'chief'		'hat'			
ḡnta	±	kana	====)	kàntana	'corn gruel'
'corn'		'gruel'			
umo	+	kabulì	====)	kemobulì	'(cotton) thread'
'cotton'		'thread'			
ùfo	+	lìbò	====)	lìfobò	'ball of fufu'
'fufu'		'ball'			

ketu	+	kùdḅ	====)	kutudḅ	'river bank'
'river'		'side'			
kamu	+	lètḅ	====)	lɛmutḅ	'pile of
'rice'		'heap'			husked rice'
àkàtùà	+	kutu	====)	kḅkàtùatu	'groundnut soup'
'peanuts'		'soup'			
kuli	+	kama	====)	kɛli'ma	'back of head'
'head'		'back'			
ḅtḅ	+	kama	====)	katḅma	'inner room'
'house'		'back'			

If, however, the prefix to the second noun does not have a CV- structure and the prefix to the first noun does, then the prefix to ~~the~~ second noun is deleted and the prefix to the first noun serves as the prefix to the entire compound word, usually:

	1	2	3	4	
SD:	±	NC	+	NSt	± ± NC + NSt ±
SC:	±	1	+	2	± 4 ± / 3 ≠ CV- & 1 ≠ CV-
kùbo	+	nnḅmì	====)	kùbonḅmì	'palm pomade'
'palm'		'oil'			
katḅ	+	ḅsiì	====)	katḅsiì	'hanging gourd'
'above'		'gourd'			

k̀ǹ + ̀siì ===) k̀ǹsiì 'bladder'
 'urine' 'gourd'

kal> + udilà ===) kal>dilà 'kind of
 'ground' 'needle' 'poisonous snake'

If neither of the prefixes is of CV- structure, then the prefix A- is used if the compound noun yields the name of a bird:

̀kpine + ̀asè ===) ̀kpinesè "'omen of death"
 'dead man' 'bird' bird'

ntu + ̀asè ===) etusè 'cattle egret'
 'water' 'bird'

In : one other example I have, the prefix KA- is used:

̀sì + ̀t> ===) k̀sìnt> 'hearthside'
 'hearth' 'house'

There are some exceptions to these rules; these exceptions are primarily the names of various food items or parts of food items:

kal> + ləbe ===) ̀l>bè 'cocoayam'
 'ground' 'kernel'

kalɔ + ɔ̃jutu	====)	ɔlɔ'jutu	'cassava'
'ground' 'root'			
lèbɛ + nnɔmì	====)	àbɛnɔmì	'kernel oil'
'kernel' 'oil'			

Noun + Verb combinations. Generally, when a compound noun is formed from a noun stem plus verb stem, the noun stem precedes the verb stem, and the compound noun is prefixed by LE- :

SD: ± NC + NSt ± VSt ±			
SC: ± LE- + NSt + VSt ±			
lɛlɔ + -ɲwa	====)	lɛlɔɲwa	'sweat'
'body' 'cook'			
kama + -kpɛ	====)	lɛmaɲkpɛ	'lateness'
'back' 'delay'			
kɔ̃nu + -ja	====)	linunja	'thanks'
'hand' 'clap'			
kenye + -yɔ	====)	linyeyɔ	'temptation'
'mouth' 'want'			
àbi + -bo	====)	lèbibɔ	'suffering'
'pain' 'have'			

lekpa + -lie ====) lekpalie 'turn at duty'
 'custom' 'sit'
 likpò + -se ====) likpòse 'mark; brand'
 'place' 'run'

There are two nouns, however, both compounded with ala
 'things', which are not prefixed by LE- :

àlà + -bla ====) kàlàbla 'work'
 'thing' 'work, do'
 àlà + -kpi ====) kàlàkpi 'snake'
 'thing' 'die'

Considerably less common is the arrangement VSt + NSt ;
 most of the compound nouns I have collected under this
 rubric are the names of plants or animals:

-dù + lili ====) kàdùlili 'yellow seed which
 'hurt' 'head' causes headaches'
 -ti + lìbì ====) kɛtilìbì 'dung-beetle'
 'take' 'dung'
 -dɔ + lètabi ====) lɛdɔntabi 'whetstone'
 'sharpen' 'stone'

-fã + kat> ====) >fanat> 'plantain'
 'hang' 'above'

As we see, in most cases, the original noun still retains its prefix; I suspect that these compound nouns entered the languages well before the others.

Other combinations. I have found one example of a compound noun formed from the sequence NSt + VSt + NSt :

kal> + >dũ + ebuo ====) al>dumbuo 'bedbug found in
 'ground' 'bite' 'animal' swish houses'

and one example of a compound noun formed from a verb stem followed by a tense marker followed by a verb stem:

-di + TAA- + -bu ====) kaditeebu 'left-over
 'eat' HABit 'remain' food'

There are also a couple of examples of compound nouns formed from the sequence VSt + VSt , where the first verb is b>nu 'to see':

-nu + -sià ====) lenuñsia 'remembrance'
 'see' 'follow'
 -nu + -jiè ====) lenuñjiè 'jealousy'
 'see' 'follow'

Syntactic notes. While most compound nouns are invariable, some compound nouns do, in fact, have separate singular and plural forms:

etusè	be-	'cattle egret'
litubiò	e-	'water well'
katɔsiì	kɔ-	'hanging gourd'
ùbèji	lì-	'royal palm'
kuvodò	e-	'latrine'

These plural forms are presumably formed by analogy with the plural forms for simple nouns and support my claim that the original elements of the compound nouns were the singular, rather than the plural, forms of the nouns involved: if the plural forms were involved, then the expected plural form, according to my formulation on page 127, for katɔsiì 'hanging gourd' would be *letɔsiì since the plural form for èsiì 'gourd' is lèsiì. It should be noted, however, that the fact that a particular compound noun may be invariable is independent of whether that compound is a count or a non-count noun:

kàgàbwa kénwí

'one crown'

kàgàbwa ínyó

'two crowns'

The information as to whether a particular compound noun is variable or invariable would be stored in the Complex Symbol for the noun--since compound nouns (with the exception of those formed NC + VSt + VSt) function syntactically like simple nouns, the complex symbols would be like those for simple nouns in other respects too:

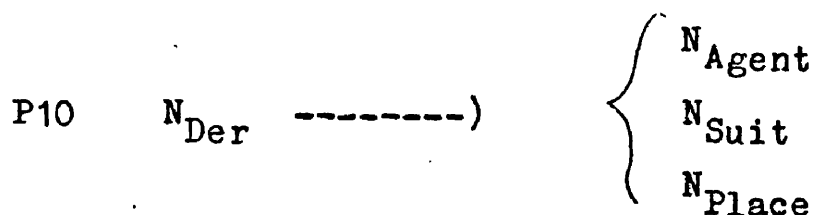
li.tubìò	e-	[IV__, -Animate, +Count]	'water well'
kà.gàbwa		[XV__, -Animate, +Count]	'crown'
kà.ntana		[XV__, -Count, -Abstract]	'corn gruel'
lɛ.lɔŋwa		[XIV__, -Count, -Abstract]	'sweat'
ka.tɔ̀̀njà		[XV__, +Abstract]	'kin marriage'
li.semi		[XIV__, -Count, -Abstract]	'Teteman'
e.tusè	be-	[Ib__, +Animate]	'cattle egret'

There are special problems involved, however, with compound nouns formed NC + VSt + VSt since these--or at least the two I have--still have considerable verbal properties in addition to their properties as nouns; these problems are substantially identical to those pertaining to derived nouns and will be discussed there.

Derived Nouns

There are three types of derived noun which are produced by fully productive processes:

- i. Derived Agent Nouns (N_{Agent}),
- ii. Derived Nouns of Suitability (N_{Suit}), and
- iii. Derived Nouns of Place (N_{Place}).



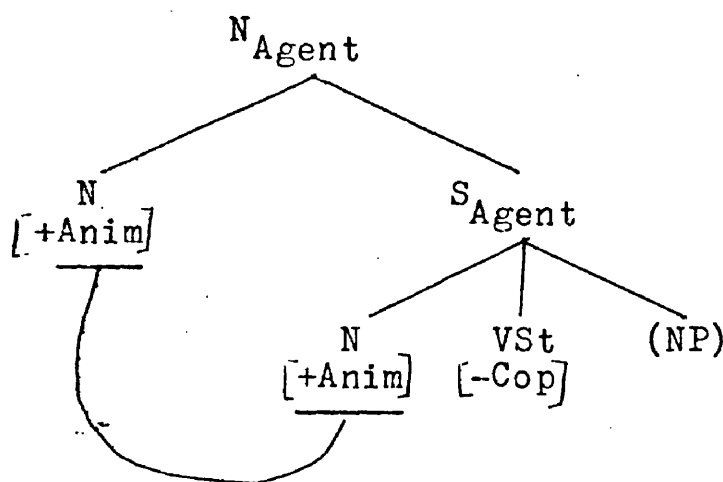
These nouns are called "derived nouns" because they reflect the relationship between a "dummy" noun in an underlying sentence and the verb of that underlying sentence; the underlying noun + verb is converted into a single surface noun transformationally, and the order of any other Noun Phrases that were in the original underlying sentence is also altered transformationally.

Derived Agent Nouns. Derived Agent Nouns presumably have their origin in structures in which the "dummy" noun, which is necessarily animate, is the subject of the verb of an underlying relative clause; the verb is a non-copular and may or may not have a single object:

P11 N_{Agent} -----) $[+N, +Animate]$ + S_{Agent}

P12 S_{Agent} -----) $[+N, +Animate]$ + VSt (NP)
 $[-Cop]$

This would result in a tree diagram like:



An alternate notation for the tree diagram is

someone $[S$ someone + VSt (NP)] S ;
 $[-Cop]$

in further discussion, I shall use the linear notation

instead of tree diagrams.

The following phrases will exemplify the underlying forms of Derived Agent Nouns:

<u>someone</u>	[S	<u>someone</u>	+	-tinà	+	àlà]	S	
				'teach'		'things'		
<u>someone</u>	[S	<u>someone</u>	+	-nwà	+	kamu]	S	
				'harvest'		'rice'		
<u>someone</u>	[S	<u>someone</u>	+	-nwà]	S			
				'harvest'				
<u>someone</u>	[S	<u>someone</u>	+	-kpì]	S			
				'die'				

The deep structure to these phrases is then altered as follows: the "someone"s are deleted, being replaced by prefixing the Verb Stem with the Noun Class markers for Noun Class Ia (i.e., with the prefix pair Ø/BA) and by suffixing the Verb Stem with -NE . In addition, if the verb in the original embedded sentence had an object, that object is transposed to appear before the new noun formed from the Verb Stem.

T4 SD: someone $\left[\text{S } \underline{\text{someone}} + \text{VSt (NP)} \right] \text{S}$
 SC: (NP) \pm Ia + VSt + -NE \pm

Applying this transformation to the examples on the preceding page, we get:

àlà	O/BA-tinà-NE	'teacher(s)'
kamu	O/BA-ηwà-NE	'rice harvester(s)'
	O/BA-ηwà-NE	'harvester(s)'
	O/BA-kpì-NE	'corpse(s)'

A morphophonemic rule then applies to give the new noun the appropriate vowel harmony and tonal patterns: the Noun Class prefix (but not the suffix) harmonizes with the Verb Stem. The prefix is on a Low tone. If the Verb Stem is monosyllabic, then it is on a Mid tone; if it is polysyllabic, then the first syllable is on a Low tone, and subsequent syllables are on Mid tones. The suffix has a Mid or Low tone opposite to the inherent tone of the final syllable of the Verb Stem.

bɔnu	=====)	ɔnunè,	bà-	'spectator(s)'
				'to see'
bunu	=====)	ùnunè,	bè-	'listener(s)'
				'to hear'
bùfwì	=====)	ùfwine,	bè-	'invalid(s)'
				'to be sick'
bufwi	=====)	ùfwìnè,	bè-	'Bronx cheerér(s)'
				'to give a Bronx cheer'
bɔ̀sì	=====)	ɔ̀sine,	bà-	'emigrant(s)'
				'to come from'
bɔ̀dù	=====)	ɔ̀dune,	bà-	'killer(s)'
				'to kill'
bɔ̀kpàlà	=====)	ɔ̀kpàlane,	bà-	'worshipper(s)'
				'to worship'

Derived Agent Nouns are used in much the same way as other animate nouns and occur in sentences like:

1. baalɔ̀ m̀nà ɔ̀nwanè ^{Jorj} George.

3p+PRES+call my cook George

'My cook's name is George.'

2. Kotɔ̀ka bèkìsine bádù ñ.

Kotoka haters 3p+PAS+kill him

'The people who hated Kotoka killed him.' or

'Kotoka's enemies killed him.'

3. kemo bèsene bàày> ònantu.

farm goers 3p+PRES+like rain

'Farmers like rain.'

4. frankobi bebenwùni àlà bàtinane.

Franco+young 3p+COME+become things teachers.

'Franco students are going to become teachers.'

5. ñwa lìgulabi ùyune úkpì kàmàdì.

his money thief 3s+PAS+die yesterday.

'The thief of his money died yesterday.'

6. múnà adi òf>ne òca òma ñ kemo.

my clothes washer 3s+PRES+is-at town Ø inside.

'The man who washes my clothes lives in town.'

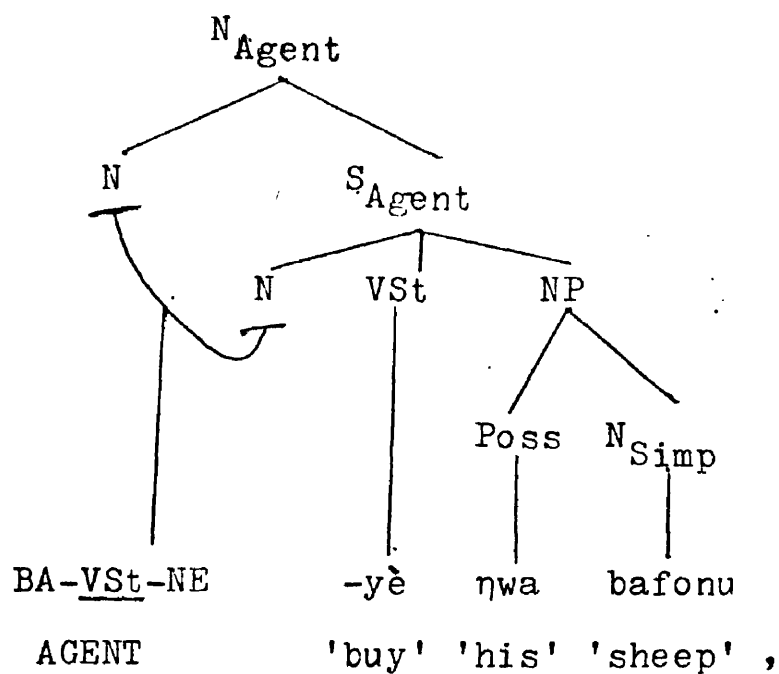
7. Mensà ónù ñwa bafonù bèyene lèdìjè.

Mensah 3s+PAS+see his sheep buyers in+the+morning.'

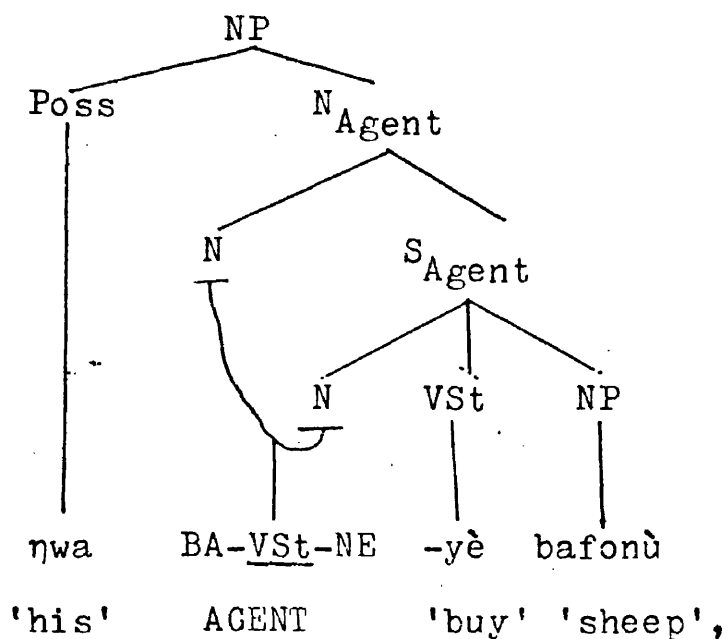
'Mensah saw the buyers of his sheep this morning' or

'Mensah saw his sheep-buyers this morning.'

(Sentences like 7 are inherently ambiguous because the surface structure of ñwa bafonù bèyene gives no indication as to whether the underlying structure is



which would be the deep structure underlying the first interpretation, or whether it is



which would be the deep structure underlying the second interpretation. This ambiguity is common to all derived nouns.

Derived Nouns of Suitability. Since the term "Derived Noun of Suitability" is my own coinage, I shall preface my discussion of what a "Derived Noun of Suitability" is syntactically with a discussion of what it is semantically. It seems that there are three basic ways in which a language can order derived nouns which express the notions of the (animate) Agent of an action, the (inanimate) Recipient of an action, and the (inanimate) Instrument of an action:

i. A language can use separate forms for each of the three relationships, thus presumably indicating that all three relationships are about equally dissimilar, with no two relationships having more in common with each other than either has with the third. This type of linguistic behavior is found in Akan, Ewe, Nkonya, and Likpe, for example:

(Ewe)	nuɖula	'someone who eats'
	nuɖunu	'something to eat with'
	nuɖuɖu	'something to eat'

ii. The same forms can be used to refer both to the

Agent of an action and to the Instrument used in performing the action, thus presumably indicating that the relationship of Agent and Instrument have more in common with each other than either of them has with the relationship of Object or Recipient. This arrangement is very common in English, where the -er suffix is used quite frequently to denote both the means and the man of an action indifferently: a "dish-washer" is either a man or a machine that washes dishes, a "riveter" is either a man or a machine that drives rivets, etc.

iii. The same forms can be used to refer to both the Object or Recipient of an action and to the Instrument of the action, presumably indicating that both the Object and the Instrument are similar in both being "things" used by an Agent. We find this pattern to a limited extent in American English, at least, for example, with words such as a "broiler", which refers either to a chicken which is suitable for broiling or to an oven, grill, etc. which can be used for broiling, a "fryer", which is either a chicken suitable for frying or a pan for frying in, and so on. In Buem, all derived

Instruments and Objects (with the exception of participles used as substantives (see p. 180)) are formed in the same way and, significantly, with the noun stem -là 'thing'; I apply the term "Derived Nouns of Suitability" to derived nouns of this type.

Derived Nouns of Suitability presumably have their origin in structures in which the dummy noun is modified by a relative clause with a compound predicate containing the verb -ti 'use' with the dummy as its object followed by some other Verb Phrase (See pp. 388 ff for discussion of buti in serial verb constructions).

P13 N_{Suit} -----) [+N, -Animate, +Count] + S_{Suit}

P14 S_{Suit} -----) INDEF + -ti + NP + VP

This gives us the formula:

something [S INDEF + -ti + something, VP] S ,

which can be exemplified by

something $\left[\text{S INDEF} + \text{-ti} + \text{something, -f}^{\text{b}} \text{adi} \right]_{\text{S}}$

'something used in washing clothes'

something $\left[\text{S INDEF} + \text{-ti} + \text{something, -f}^{\text{b}} \right]_{\text{S}}$

'something used in washing'

something $\left[\text{S INDEF} + \text{-ti} + \text{something, -fi lilu} \right]_{\text{S}}$

'something used in roasting yam'

something $\left[\text{S INDEF} + \text{-ti} + \text{something, -fi} \right]_{\text{S}}$

'something used in roasting'

something $\left[\text{S INDEF} + \text{-ti} + \text{something, -di} \right]_{\text{S}}$

'something used in eating'

which are parallel to such straightforward relative clauses
as:

omò $\left[\text{S INDEF} + \text{-ti} + \text{omò, -f}^{\text{b}} \text{adi} \right]_{\text{S}} \quad \text{=====})$

omò ɔni bèèti bàaf^b adi

OMO Rel 3p+PRES+use 3p+PRES+wash clothes

'OMO which is used in washing clothes'

adi $\left[\text{S INDEF} + \text{-ti} + \text{adi, -f}^{\text{b}} \right]_{\text{S}} \quad \text{=====)} \quad \text{=====)}$

adi ani bèèti bàaf^b

clothes Rel 3p+PRES+use 3p+PRES+wash

'clothes which are being taken for washing'

etc. The deep structures to these phrases are then al-

tered as follows: the "something"s are deleted, being replaced by prefixing the Verb Stem with the Noun Class markers for Noun Class IV (i.e., with the prefix pair LE/A) and by suffixing the Verb Stem with -là . If the verb in the original embedded sentence had an object, that object is transposed to appear before the new noun formed. Everything else is deleted.

T6 SD: something [_S INDEF + -ti + something, VSt (NP)] _S
 SC: (NP) ± IV + VSt + -là ±

Applying this transformation to the examples on the preceding page, we get:

adi LE/A-fɔ̃-là	'things to wash clothes with'
LE/A-fɔ̃-là	'things to be washed'
lilu LE/A-fi-là	'things to roast yam with'
LE/A-fi-là	'things to roast'
LE/A-di-là	'things to eat'

A morphophonemic rule then applies to cause the prefix to harmonize with the verb stem and to assign tone: the verb stem retains its inherent tone, which is also "copied" onto the prefix. (Since my corpus contains no examples of Derived Nouns of Suitability formed from ^{polysyllabic} verb stems in

which the tone of the first syllable differs from that of any subsequent syllable, the tonal section of this rule may need future revision.)

T7 SD: ± IV + VSt + -là ±

SC: ± IV + VSt + -là ±

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{<Adv} \\ \beta\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{<Adv} \\ \beta\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$$

The final forms for the underlying phrases on p 146 are, therefore:

adi lèfɔ̀là,	adi àfɔ̀là	'thing(s) for washing clothes'
lèfɔ̀là,	àfɔ̀là	'thing(s) for the wash'
lilu lifilà,	lilu efilà	'thing(s) for roasting yam'
lifilà,	efilà	'thing(s) for roasting'
ledilà,	adilà	'thing(s) for eating; food'

Other examples are:

bɔ̀dà	=====)	lèdàlà	àdàlà
'to wear'		'thing(s) to wear'	
bɔ̀da	=====)	ledalà	adalà
'to cut'		'thing(s) to cut things down with'	
bɔ̀fɔ̀	=====)	lefɔ̀là	afɔ̀là
'to receive'		'thing(s) received, contributions'	

bùfì =====) lîfîlà èfîlà

'to be sick' 'thing(s) which cause illness'

Because I have not encountered similar types of derived noun in other languages, I have cited below a fair number of sentences, which were quite freely elicited, to illustrate the different ways in which Derived Nouns of Suitability can be used:

8. bɔ̀du bɔ̀di lɛbɛlà libɛlì.

killing BO+is IV+be-hidden+thing big

'Murder is a great secret.'

9. Pàpa útì lìbìlà úbì ketubwì kenyi.

Papa 3s+PAS+use IV+cover+thing 3s+PAS+cover

water+pot mouth

'Father used a lid to cover the mouth of the waterpot.'

10. Kòfi ɔ̀dà uji kù lɛdalà

Kofi 3s+PAS+cut stick with IV+cut+thing

'Kofi cut the stick with a chopping tool (e.g.; axe)'

11. bɔ̀ɔ̀dì àdìlà àbwinì.

1p+PRES+eat IV+eat+thing good

'We eat good food.'

12. lifilà lécùì nà ɔja kemo.

IV+roast+thing LE+PAS+be-burnt at fire inside

'The roast got burnt in the fire.'

13. ɔ̀nà̀nà mùukìsi mi útì lìfìlà útè mi.

man REL+PRES+hate me 3s+PAS+take IV+be-sick+thing

3s+PAS+give me

'The man who hates me gave me something to make
me sick.'

14. lèfɔ̀là lénvɔ̀ lélè kàdwéè.

IV+wash+thing LE+that LE+clean well

'This soap cleans well.'

15. àfɔ̀là ánvɔ̀ aaŋwu piì.

IV+wash+thing A+that A+PRES+be-dirty a-lot

'Those things to be washed are quite dirty.'

16. kòmunyɔ̀n kɔ̀di kɔ̀yu lɛfɔ̀là.

communion KO+is soul IV+receive+thing

'Communion is something received by the soul.'

17. lítì nnɔ̀mì léjì ajilà piì.

1s+PAS+use palm-oil 1s+PAS+fry IV+fry+things a-lot

'I used palm oil to fry many things suited to frying.'

18. kebi mmi kàdi lejálà línwí.

drum "small" KA+be IV+drum+thing one

'A "small drum" is one thing to drum on.'

19. kofonù kòdì bafwiè lekpalà.

sheep KO+be fetish IV+sacrifice+thing

'A sheep is a sacrifice to an idol.'

20. Ìpia òdi batì kùkù likpolà.

spear O+be fathers old IV+fight+thing

'The spear was our fore-fathers' weapon.'

21. lìkpìdi lèdi àtibrùku linilà.

evil LE+be God IV+reject+thing

'Sin is something loathesome to God.'

22. lítì lénwalà lénwà kana.

1s+PAS+use IV+cook+thing 1s+PAS+cook gruel

'I used a cooking pan to cook gruel.'

23. líyè anwalà ànì ka lilu, animì, kù Ìkpàna nà kuye.

1s+PAS+buy IV+cook+thing like yam, rice, and

okra at market

'I bought things to cook like yam, rice and

okra at the market.'

24. òténwèní òku òsika mia ènwènilà éyì.

1s+PAS+NEG+write letter because my IV+write+thing
A+PAS+get-lost

'I didn't write a letter because my writing
materials got lost.' or 'because my
thoughts to write down got lost.'

25. m̀wìà lìtèlà fùà lèsìnk̀ kud̀.

1s+PRES+desire IV+give+thing your area side
'I want a gift from you.'

26. su mi litèmilà línwí nà línú

IMP+tell me IV+speake+thing one REL 1s+SUBJ+hear
'Tell me one story that I should hear.'

27. mia lìtìlà líbùnù.

my IV+take+thing LE+PRES+be-heavy
'My luggage is heavy.'

28. lìyu ìye letulà màrà létu mi ògbà.

thorn or IV+pierce+thing other LE+PAS+pierce me foot
'Either a thorn or some other piercing thing
pierced my foot.'

29. dòkò avalà ébò mò, étrò àk̀k̀ avalà.

turkey IV+lay+thing A+PRES+have bigness, A+PRES+sur-
pass chicken IV+lay+thing.

'Turkey eggs are bigger than chicken eggs.'

30. ùfo òdi lɛwɔ̀là líŋwí.

fufu O+be IV+pound+thing one

'Fufu is one thing that's pounded.'

31. àkɔ̀sùà ɔ̀wɔ̀, ñsù kébù awɔ̀là.

Akɔ̀sua O+PAS+CONT+give-birth, but INDEF+remain

IV+give-birth+thing

'Akɔ̀sua has given birth, but the afterbirth
still remains.'

32. sìka òdi mia lɛyɔ̀là.

money O+be my IV+like+thing

'Money is my desire.'

33. bècùani nadì liyulà lénvò fuì békpì.

people REL+PAS+eat IV+steal+thing LE+that all

3p+PAS+die

'All the people who ate the stolen goods died.'

XV, and suffixing the Verb Stem with $-k\dot{\text{b}}$ (which Höftmann (1965) views as being the stem to the directional noun $ak\dot{\text{b}}$ 'vicinity'). As for other derived nouns, the object of the verb, if any, in the relative clause is transposed to appear before the new noun formed, and everything else is deleted.

T8 SD: something $\left[\text{S INDEF} + \text{VSt (NP)} \text{ n\grave{a} something} \right] \text{S}$
 SC: (NP) \pm KA- + VSt + $k\dot{\text{b}}$ \pm

This rule converts the structures on the previous page to

KA-dì- $k\dot{\text{b}}$	'eating place; dining room'
nte KA-ni- $k\dot{\text{b}}$	'palm-wine drinking place'
KA-nyè- $k\dot{\text{b}}$	'waiting place'
àlà KA-f\dot{\text{b}}- $k\dot{\text{b}}$	'place to wash clothes'

The Vowel Harmony rule of p 70 and the nasalized vowel realization rule of pp 85-8 apply, and the prefix is given the same tone as the first syllable of the Verb Stem, the Verb Stem retaining its inherent tone.

T9 SD: \pm KA- + VSt + $k\dot{\text{b}}$ \pm
 SC: \pm KA VSt + $\langle \eta \rangle$ + $k\dot{\text{b}}$ \pm
 $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ \text{LoTo} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ $\left(\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ \text{+Syll} \\ \text{LoTo} \end{smallmatrix} \right] \right)$ $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{+Syll} \\ \text{+Nas} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$

The surface forms for the structures on page 154 is, therefore,

kàdìkò		'eating place; dining room'
nte kanikò	}	'palm wine bar'
nte kaniḥkò		
kènyèkò	}	'waiting room'
kènyèḥkò		
àlà kàfòkò		'place to wash clothes'

Other examples of Derived Nouns of Place are:

bɔŋwa	=====)	kaŋwaḥkò/kaŋwakò
'to cook'		'kitchen'
bòŋwà	=====)	kàŋwàḥkò/kàŋwàkò
'to harvest'		'harvesting site'
bònyì	=====)	kànyìḥkò/kànyìkò
'to excrete'		'latrine'
bòsà	=====)	kàsàkò
'to treat, heal'		'hospital'
bɔtɛ	=====)	kateḥkò/katekò
'to sleep'		'bedroom'
bòtiya	=====)	kàtiyakò
'to learn'		'school'

Although Derived Nouns of Place are invariable, they are, nonetheless, count nouns and can occur in phrases like:

bàkɔ̀kɔ̀ kavaṅkɔ̀ kénwí	'one chicken laying box'
bàkɔ̀kɔ̀ kavaṅkɔ̀ ínyɔ̀	'two chicken laying boxes'
lɛlɔ̀ kàsàkɔ̀ kénwí	'one hospital'
lɛlɔ̀ kàsàkɔ̀ ínyɔ̀	'two hospitals'

Derived Nouns of Place occur in sentences like:

34. ɔ̀sìà sika nà nwa kafɔ̀kɔ̀ kemo.
 3s+PAS+place money in its receive+place inside
 'He put the money in its reception place.'
35. útì nwa adi úbòkù nà kàfɔ̀kɔ̀.
 3s+PAS+take his clothes 3s+PAS+bring in wash+place
 'She took her clothes and brought them to the
 laundry.'
36. ànta kàṇwàṅkɔ̀ kàca nà ùlu kudɔ̀.
 corn harvest+place KA+is-at in road side
 'The corn harvesting site is near the road.'
37. uni m̀bbla kutu nà kanwàṅkɔ̀ kemo.
 mother REL+PRES+make soup in cook+place inside
 'It's Mother who makes soup in the kitchen.'

In addition to the preceding Derived Nouns of Place which are formed from Verb Stems, there is one Derived Noun of Place, àjumakɔ̃ 'work place', which is formed from a noun, àjuma, a word for 'work' borrowed from Twi.

Other Derived Nouns. In addition to the productive forms of nominal derivation already discussed, there is one further type which is of limited and somewhat idiosyncratic productivity; this type, discussed in passing on page 116, gives rise to abstract nouns, nouns of manner, cognate object nouns, and cognate nouns of means, etc. Derived nouns of this sort are formed by prefixing KA- or KO- or LE- to the Noun Stem or Verb Stem for which an abstract, etc. is to be formed. Unfortunately, however, there are no general principles by which a rule can be formulated as to which prefix goes with which stem, so that the appropriate nominalizing prefix (or abstract forming prefix in the case of nouns with non-abstract forms) must be stated separately for each stem and cannot be

introduced transformationally (cf. Chomsky (1970)).

That this is the case is shown by the following:

Ṣṣwani	bà- ===ṣ===)	kṢṣwani
'sibling'		'relationship'
Ṣnuṣkù	bà- =====)	lṢnuṣkù uwi
'old man'		'old age'
Ṣnamù	ba- =====)	lenamù uwi
'child'		'childhood'
oklofu	ba- =====)	leklofu uwi
'youth'		'youth'
Ṣti	ba- =====)	kṢti
'father'		'paternity'
Ṣga	ba- =====)	lega
'chief'		'chieftaincy'
bṢbla	=====)	kabla
'work'		'work'
bṢca	=====)	kṢca
'be at; score'		'shame, disgrace'
bṢdu	=====)	kadu
'hurt'		'rheumatism'

bɔfɛ	=====)	lɛfɛ
'blow'		'nasal mucus'
bɔja	=====)	kaja
'exceed'		'excess'
bɔkɔ	=====)	kɔkɔ, a-
'mill'		'mill'
bùkpì	=====)	kùkpì
'die'		'death'
bɔlɛ	=====)	lɛlɛ
'sleep'		'sleep'
bɔnɔ	=====)	kɔnɔ
'urinate'		'urine'
bɔnu	=====)	kanu
'see'		'mirror'
bɔŋwa	=====)	lɛŋwa
'cook'		'way of cooking'
bɔsì	=====)	kɛsì
'be from'		'home'
bɔsùsù	=====)	kàsùsù
'think'		'thought'
bɔtɛ	=====)	kɔtɛ
'judge'		'conversation'

butemi	=====}	litemi
'speak'		'language'
bɔtɔ	=====)	katɔ, kɔ-
'dance'		'dance'
bɔwunà	=====)	lɛwunà
'breathe'		'sigh'
buye	=====)	kuye
'trade'		'price; market place'

In these cases, the Complex Symbols would have forms rather like:

- ga [+N, Ia____, +Human 'chief': XIV____, +Abstract]
- ti [+N, Ia____, +Human 'father': XVI____, +Abstract]

in the case of noun-noun pairs, or

- lɛ [+V, Anim____, -____NP, -Stative; +N, XIV____, +Abstract] 'sleep'
- kpì [+V, Anim____, -____NP, -Stative; +N, XVI____, +Abstract] 'die'
- ɲwa [+V, Anim____, -____Abstract, -Stative; +N, XIV____, +Abstract] 'cook'
- tɔ [+V, Anim____, ____Cognate, -Stative; +N, VI____, -Animate, -Abstract] 'dance'

in the case of verb-noun pairs.

Possessors

Possessors always precede the noun possessed. A possessor can be either a Nominal group followed by an optional Quantifier or a Possessive Pronoun. It is possible that a Quantifier can follow a Possessive Pronoun; however, this would be extremely rare and does not occur in my corpus at all.

P17	Poss	-----)	{	Nom (Quant)
				Pro _{Poss}

Nominal possessors. While word order is sufficient to mark possession, there are also some tonal alternations involved when a Nominal group is the possessor of a noun. These tonal alternations are progressive rather than regressive, in the sense that the tone of the Nominal group affects the tone of the noun possessed rather than vice versa. The following principles apply:

- i. If the noun possessed has three or more syllables, then there is no tonal alternation:

ònàná	+	òsiì	=====)	ònàná òsiì
'man'		'gourd'		'a man's gourd'
ònàná	+	òklantiè	=====)	ònàná òklantiè
'man'		'cutlass'		'a man's cutlass'
òfɔ	+	òklàma	=====)	òfɔ òklàma
'stranger'		'dog'		'a stranger's dog'
baga fwiì	+	bànàná	=====)	baga fwiì bànàná
chiefs all		'mən'		'the men of all the
'all chiefs'				chiefs'

ii. If the final tone of the Nominal group is Low, then there is no alternation in the tone of the noun possessed:

òná	+	lìlù	=====)	òná lìlù
'friend'		'yam'		'a friend's yam'
òná	+	èse	=====)	òná èse
'friend'		'goat'		'a friend's goat'
òná	+	kama	=====)	òná kama
'friend'		'back'		'a friend's back'
ɔga ɔmɔ	+	lìlù	=====)	ɔga ɔmɔ lìlù
chief the		'yam'		'the chief's yam'
'the chief'				

ɔga ɔmɔ	+	ɛse	=====)	ɔga ɔmɔ ɛse
'the chief'		'goat'		'the chief's goat'
ɔga ɔmɔ	+	letɔ	=====)	ɔga ɔmɔ letɔ
'the chief'		'houses'		'the chief's houses'

iii. If the final tone of the Nominal group is High, then there is no alternation in the tone of the noun possessed:

ɔga úŋwí	+	lílù	=====)	ɔga úŋwí lílù
'one chief'		'yam'		'one chief's yams'
ɔga úŋwí	+	ɛse	=====)	ɔga úŋwí ɛse
'one chief'		'goat'		'one chief's goat'
ɔga úŋwí	+	letɔ	=====)	ɔga úŋwí letɔ
'one chief'		'houses'		'one chief's houses'

iv. If the final two tones of the Nominal group are Mid, then there is no alternation in the tone of the noun possessed if its first tone is Low:

ɔga	+	lílù	=====)	ɔga lílù
'chief'		'yam'		'a chief's yams'
ɔga	+	ɛse	=====)	ɔga ɛse
'chief'		'goat'		'a chief's goat'

However, if the first tone of the noun possessed is

Mid, then the tone of the noun possessed is downstepped optionally:

ɔga	+	lɛɔ	=====)	ɔga lɛɔ, ɔga 'lɛɔ
'chief'		'houses'		'a chief's houses'
ɔkpɛ	+	kuli	=====)	ɔkpɛ kuli, ɔkpɛ 'kuli
'grasscutter'		'head'		'a grasscutter's head'
ɔɔ	+	kemo	=====)	ɔɔ ŋ kemo, ɔɔ ŋ̃ 'kemo
'house'		'inside'		'inside the house'

v. If the final two tones of the Nominal group are Low-Mid, then there are a number of different alternations:

a. If the inherent tone of the noun possessed is Low-Low, then it becomes Mid-Low:

ɔŋwa	+	lɪlù	=====)	ɔŋwa lɪlù
'sibling'		'yam'		'a brother's yams'
èse	+	ɔgbà	=====)	èse ɔgbà
'goat'		'foot'		'a goat's foot'

b. If the inherent tone of the noun possessed is Low-Mid, then it becomes High-Mid:

ɔŋwa	+	ése	=====)	ɔŋwa ése
'sibling'		'goat'		'a brother's goat'

Possessed

<u>Possessor</u>	lìlù 'yam'	ése 'goat'	ɔtɔ 'house'
ɛ̀nà 'friend'	ɛ̀nà lìlù	ɛ̀nà ése	ɛ̀nà ɔtɔ
ɛ̀nwa 'sibling'	ɛ̀nwa lìlù	ɛ̀nwa ése	ɛ̀nwa ɔtɔ
ɔga 'chief'	ɔga lìlù	ɔga ése	ɔga ɔtɔ, ɔga 'ɔtɔ

Figure XI

Tonal Alternation with Possessives

èse	+	lènyi	=====)	èse lényi
'goat'		'tooth'		'a goat's tooth'
ɔ̃ja	+	ɔ̃ɲwa	=====)	ɔ̃ja ɔ̃ɲwa
'husband'		'sibling'		'a husband's sibling'

c. If the inherent tone of the noun possessed is Mid-Mid, then there is no alternation:

ɔ̃ɲwa	+	ɔ̃tɔ	=====)	ɔ̃ɲwa ɔ̃tɔ
'sibling'		'house'		'a brother's house'
èse	+	kama	=====)	èse kama
'goat'		'back'		'a goat's back'

vi. There are no other alternations caused by possession.

I have schematized the tonal alternations caused by possession in Figure XI.

Possessive Pronouns. The members of the series of possessive pronouns vary with the dialect of the Buem speaker. In the Baglo sub-dialect of Lèlèmi, all possessive pronouns must agree with their referent in number and person or noun class membership, although in rapid speech the unmarked possessive pronoun form, *ɲwa*, is often used to refer to inanimate possessors. The series of possessive

pronouns used in Baglo and Baglo-Odumase is:

1s	mùná	mùná ɔtɔ	'my house'
2	fùnà	fùnà ɔtɔ	'your house'
3	ɲwa	ɲwa ɔtɔ	'his/her/its house'
1p	bua	bua ɔtɔ	'our house'
2	bina	bina ɔtɔ	'your house'
3	{ bana, mana	bana ɔtɔ mana ɔtɔ	'their house'
O-, A- (Anim)	ɲwa	ɲwa ɔtɔ	'his/her/its house'
BA-	{ bana mana	bana ɔtɔ mana ɔtɔ	'their house'
A- (Inanim)	ana	ana ɔtɔ	'A-'s house'
LE-	anya	anya ɔtɔ	'LE-'s house'
KA-	kana	kana ɔtɔ	'KA-'s house'
KO-	kuna	kuna ɔtɔ	'KO-'s house'
N-, BO-	anya	anya ɔtɔ	'N-, BO-'s house'

Possessive pronouns are used in sentences such as:

mɔ́yɔ ɔtɔ ɔ́mɛ ɔ́sika ɲwa kuye kɔ́dɪa.

I+PRES+like house this because its price XVI+PRES+be-ggod

'I like this house because its price is good.'

m̀̀y> lət> lémè >sika anya kuye k̀̀d̀ia.

'I like these houses because their price is good.'

m̀̀y> l̀̀bwì lémè >sika anya kuye k̀̀d̀ia.

'I like this pot because its price is good.'

m̀̀y> èbwì á mè >sika ana kuye k̀̀d̀ia.

'I like these pots because their price is good.'

m̀̀y> k̀̀bè kámè >sika kana kuye k̀̀d̀ia.

'I like this fish because its price is good.'

m̀̀y> k̀̀bè kómè >sika kuna kuye k̀̀d̀ia.

'I like these fish because their price is good.',

etc.

Inalienable Possession. Special marking of a noun as being subject to inalienable possession is not a significant characteristic of Buem, and the names of body parts can occur with or without a possessor indifferently:

kuIi k̀̀du mi.

head VIII+PRES+hurt me

'My head hurts.'

is not, for example, very much more commonly used than

mùná kuli kɔɔdu mi.

my head VIII+PRES+hurt me

'My head hurts.'

nor is

kuli kɔɔdu ma.

head VIII+PRES+hurt them

'Their heads hurt.'

much more common than

bana eli aadu ma.

their heads VIII+PRES+hurt them

'Their heads hurt.'

The rule seems to be that if the noun referring to the body part is the subject of the sentence, then either a possessive pronoun can be used with the appropriate singular/plural form of the noun or the possessive pronoun can be omitted and the singular form of the body part can be used alone. When the body part is not the subject of the verb, then both the possessor of the body part and the body are treated as objects of a double-transitive verb:

ʔtà mà kafɔ.

ʔs+PAS+kick them belly.

'He kicked them in the belly.',

where the body part is in the singular.

Noun Modifiers

A Noun may be modified by any or all of the following:

- i. A Sex marker (Sex),
- ii. Participles (Part),
- iii. Numbers (Num),
- iv. Adjectives (Adj),
- v. A Determiner (Det), and/or
- vi. Relative Clauses (S_{Rel}).

These occur in the following order:

P18 Modif ----) (Sex)(Part)(Num)(Adj)(Part)(Det)(S_{Rel})

Sex Markers

Animate nouns may, but need not, be specified for their sex. There are two pairs of nouns in common use to denote sex: ɛ̀nà̀nà̀, bà- 'man' and ɔ̀lò̀ku, bè- 'woman' form one pair, and ɛ̀jane, bà- 'husband' and ɔ̀lɛne, bè- 'wife' form the other pair. The pair ɛ̀nà̀nà̀/ɔ̀lò̀ku can

be used to modify both nouns referring to humans and nouns referring to other animates; the other pair, òjane/ùlene modifies only non-human animates: if either òjane or ùlene follows a human noun, then the human noun is interpreted as being the possessor of òjane 'husband' or ùlene 'wife', as the case may be:

àlà òtìnane òjane	'the teacher's husband'
	*'the male teacher'
àlà òtìnane ^{ùlene} òlòku	'the teacher's wife'
	*'the lady teacher'

This is schematized by:

P19	Sex -----)	$\begin{cases} \text{Male} \\ \text{Female} \end{cases}$	/	[+N, +Animate] _____
P20	Male ---)	$\begin{cases} \text{òjane} \\ \text{ònànà} \end{cases}$	/	[+N, -Human] _____
P21	Female --)	$\begin{cases} \text{òlòku} \\ \text{ùlene} \end{cases}$	/	[+N, -Human] _____

As the following examples show, the Sex marker varies in

number with the noun it modifies:

ṣ̀nàncwi ṣ̀nàṇà	or	ṣ̀nàncwi ṣ̀jane	'bull'
bàṇàncwi bàṇàṇà	or	bàṇàncwi bàjane	'bulls'
ṣ̀nàncwi òlòku	or	ṣ̀nàncwi ùlɛne	'cow'
bàṇàncwi bèlòku	or	bàṇàncwi bèlɛne	'cows'
àk>kṣ̀ ṣ̀nàṇà	or	àk>kṣ̀ ṣ̀jane	'rooster'
bàk>kṣ̀ bàṇàṇà	or	bàk>kṣ̀ bàjane	'roosters'
àk>kṣ̀ òlòku	or	àk>kṣ̀ ùlɛne	'hen'
bàk>kṣ̀ bèlòku	or	bàk>kṣ̀ bèlɛne	'hens'
èse ṣ̀nàṇà	or	èse ṣ̀jane	'billy-goat'
bèse bàṇàṇà	or	bèse bàjane	'billy-goats'
èse òlòku	or	èse ùlɛne	'nanny-goat'
bèse bèlòku	or	bèse bèlɛne	'nanny-goats'
àlà ṣ̀tɪnane ṣ̀nàṇà			'male teacher'
àlà bàtɪnane bàṇàṇà			'male teachers'
àlà ṣ̀tɪnane òlòku			'lady teacher'
àlà bàtɪnane bèlòku			'lady teachers'
skubi ṣ̀nàṇà			'school-boy'
skubi bàṇàṇà			'school-boys'
skubi òlòku			'school-girl'
skubi bèlòku			'school-girls'

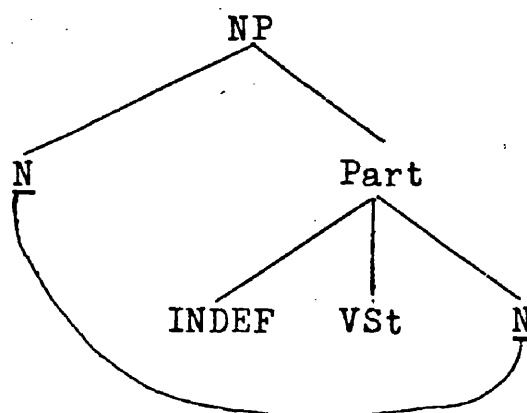
Participles

Participles arise from underlying sentences in which the head noun of the Noun Phrase is either the object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb; as far as I can tell, the verb may be any verb except a copular verb, the iterative verb *bəʃ* 'to again', or a verb of ability, of speaking or of motion.

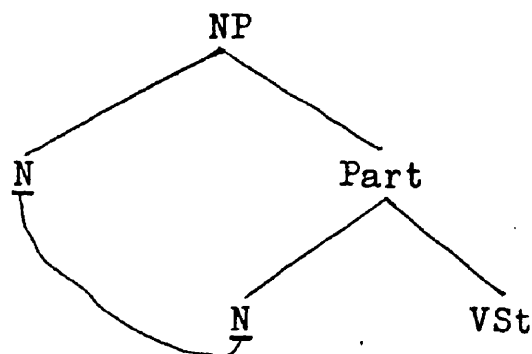
$$\text{P22} \quad \text{Part} \text{ -----) } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ INDEF } + \text{ VSt } + \text{ N } \pm \\ \pm \text{ N } + \text{ VSt } \pm \end{array} \right.$$

where $\text{VSt} = [+V, -\text{Cop}, -\text{It}, -\text{Motion} \text{ -----} \text{S}]$

This underlying structure is represented by:



with respect to the first part of the rule and by



with respect to the second part of the rule. In the linear notation, these are schematized by the formulae:

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \text{ INDEF} + \text{VSt} + \underline{N} \right] \underline{S}$$

e.g.,

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \text{ INDEF} + \text{-dũ} + \underline{N} \right] \underline{S}$$

'kill'

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \text{ INDEF} + \text{-ɲwa} + \underline{N} \right] \underline{S}$$

'cook'

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \text{ INDEF} + \text{-ɲwà} + \underline{N} \right] \underline{S}$$

'harvest'

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \text{ INDEF} + \text{-lèmi} + \underline{N} \right] \underline{S}$$

'open'

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \text{ INDEF} + \text{-bìlè} + \underline{N} \right] \underline{S}$$

'spoil'

and

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \underline{N} + \text{VSt} \right]_S$$

e.g.,

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \underline{N} + \text{-kpì} \right]_S$$

'die'

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \underline{N} + \text{-bã} \right]_S$$

'be cold'

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \underline{N} + \text{-lèmi} \right]_S$$

'be open'

$$\underline{N} \left[\underline{S} \underline{N} + \text{-bìlè} \right]_S$$

'be spoilt'

It will be noted that -lèmi 'open; be open' and the pair -bìlè/-bìè 'spoilt; be spoilt' are on both lists. In the case of -lèmi 'open; be open', this is because the verb can be used both transitively and intransitively (see pages 337-8); in the case of -bìlè/-bìè 'spoil; be spoilt', this is because it is possible to form a participle both from the intransitive form of the verb and from the transitive form (marked by the -LE suffix) as well (see pages 247 ff.), with the participle formed from the causative form apparently indicating deliberate action.

To anticipate a bit, we get, for example, the pairs

kutu kùbiɛdi	}	'spoilt soup'
kutu kùbiledi		
ñcweni bɔ̌cuidi	}	'burnt firewood'
ñcweni bɔ̌culadi		

in which the participle in the first member of each pair leaves the question of the cause of the spoiling or burning open, whereas the participle in the second member of each pair implies that the spoiling or the burning was caused by some agent.

The P-markers just shown are altered as follows: the Verb Stem is prefixed with a concord marker (Conc), which falls on a Low tone, the tone(s) of the Verb Stem are raised to Mid, and the Verb Stem is suffixed with -di, which may, perhaps, be the stem of the determiner ɛ.di 'a certain'. Everything else is deleted.

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 \text{T10} & \text{SD:} & \text{N (Y)} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{INDEF} + \text{VSt} + \text{N} \pm \\ \pm \text{N} + \text{VSt} \pm \end{array} \right\} \\
 & \text{SC:} & \text{N (Y)} \pm \text{Conc} + \text{VSt} + \text{-di} \pm \\
 & & \quad \left[+\text{LoTo} \right] \left[-\text{LoTo} \right]
 \end{array}$$

where Y = any intervening Noun Modifier

The normal Vowel Harmony rule and Nasal Realization rule apply, and the surface forms of the structures on pages 175 and 176 is:

<u>ɛ̃</u> .duɗi,	<u>ɛ̃</u> .duɗi	'killed'
<u>ɛ̃</u> .ɲwadi,	<u>ɛ̃</u> .ɲwandi	'cooked'
<u>ɛ̃</u> .ɲwadi,	<u>ɛ̃</u> .ɲwandi	'harvested'
<u>ɛ̃</u> .lɛmɪdi		'open(ed)'
<u>ɪ̃</u> .biɛɗi		'spoilt'
<u>ɪ̃</u> .kpɪɗi		'dead'; ('wicked, evil'
<u>ɛ̃</u> .baɗi	<u>ɛ̃</u> .baɗi	'cold'
<u>ɪ̃</u> .biɛɗi		'spoilt'

as in

<u>li</u> lu <u>lɛ̃</u> ɲwandi	'cooked yam'; 'harvested yam'
<u>kɛ̃</u> lækpi <u>kɛ̃</u> duɗi	'a killed snake'
<u>lɛ̃</u> tɔ̃ <u>lɛ̃</u> lɛmɪdi	'open doors'
<u>ɛ̃</u> ga <u>ɪ̃</u> kpɪɗi	'a wicked chief'
<u>ɛ̃</u> nta <u>ɛ̃</u> kɔ̃ɗi	'milled corn'
<u>bɛ̃</u> se <u>bɛ̃</u> nyimɪdi	'snared goats'
<u>ɛ̃</u> nantu <u>ɛ̃</u> baɗi	'cold rain'

There are three further comments to be made with re-

spect to participles:

i. Occasionally, a one-word manner or time adverbial may follow the participle, as in

m>wià k>betu k>bladi k>dwεè.

1s+PRES+look fish+stew made well

I'm looking for some well-made fish stew.'

bèlèyeè k>di kùdidi bwe-bwe.

INDEF+FUT+NEG+buy cloth woven poorly

'People won't buy poorly woven cloth.'

bànà èse òyudi kàmàdì nékpì.

their goat stolen yesterday REL+PAS+die

'It was their goat stolen yesterday that died.'

This entails modifying the P-rule on page 174 to read:

$$\text{Part -----)} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ INDEF} + \text{ VSt} + \text{ N} \pm \\ \pm \text{ N} + \text{ VSt} \pm \end{array} \right\} \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Ad}_M \\ \text{Ad}_T \end{array} \right)$$

and the T-rule on page 177 to read:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{SD:} & \text{N (Y)} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ INDEF} + \text{ VSt} + \text{ N} \pm \\ \pm \text{ N} + \text{ VSt} \pm \end{array} \right\} (\text{Adv}) \\ \text{SC:} & \text{N (Y)} \pm \text{ Conc} + \text{ VSt} + \text{ -di} \pm (\text{Adv}) \\ & \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{LoTo} \\ -\text{LoTo} \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

ii. As noted in rule P18 on page 171, participles can both precede and follow numbers and adjectives. As yet, I

Have not been able to isolate any principles for placement, and it seems that phrases like

adi èjiɛdi ínyɔ́

cloths reddened two

'two red cloths'

and

adi ínyɔ́ èjiɛdi

are merely stylistic variants of one another.

iii. Participles can be used as substantives (i.e., as Derived Nouns of Utmost Suitability); in this case, if they are to denote an animate, they are marked with the prefixes for Noun Class Ia, O/BA; if they are to denote an inanimate, they are marked with the prefixes for Noun Class II, O/LE . Nouns of Utmost Suitability are used much less frequently than Nouns of Suitability, and are reserved to denote things which especially typify the action of the verb; hence, while àdìlà refers to any kind of food, òdidi refers to food for human consumption especially; while lèfɔ̀là refers to anything used in connection with washing, ɔ̀fɔ̀di, lèfɔ̀di is used to denote especially dirty clothes.

Numbers

Buɛm has both cardinal and ordinal numbers, with cardinal numbers preceding ordinal numbers when both are used together (See page 190 for examples).

P23 Num -----) (Cardinal)(Ordinal)

Cardinal numbers. The basic multiples in the system of numbers are 10's and 50's. The cardinal numbers, as used in counting, are:

1	úηwí	
2	ínyɔ́	
3	ètè	
4	íné	
5	èlɔ́	
6	èkú	
7	matè	
8	máné	
9	leya linwi	(literally, 'remaining 1')
10	lèvu	
11	lèvuηwí	
12	lèvúnyɔ́	

- 13 lèvu ètè
 14 lèvúné
 15 lèvù èl^í
 16 lèvù èk^í
 17 lèvù matè
 18 lèvù máné,
 19 lèvù lèya linwi or lèvù lalinwi
 20 ààva nyo (two 10's)
 21 ààva nyo ùnwí
 22 ààva nyo nyo
 23 ààva nyo ètè
 ...
 30 àvla àtè (three 10's)
 31 àvlate nwí
 32 àvlate nyo
 ...
 40 àvlene (four 10's)
 41 àvlene nwí
 42 àvlene nyo
 ...
 50 lítì

- 51 lɪtɪ k'úŋwɪ (50 + 1)
- 52 lɪtɪ k'únyɔ́
- ...
- 60 lɪtɪ ku lɛ̀vù (50 + 10)
- 61 lɪtɪ ku lɛ̀vunwɪ
- 62 lɪtɪ ku lɛ̀vúnyó
- ...
- 70 lɪtɪ ku àvanyo (50 + (10 x 2))
- 71 lɪtɪ ku àvanyo unwɪ
- 72 lɪtɪ ku àvanyo nyo
- ...
- 80 lɪtɪ ku àvɪa àtɛ̀
- ...
- 90 lɪtɪ ku àvɪene
- ...
- 100 ètɪ ányɔ́ (two 50's) or
 óhà (borrowed from Twi)
- 101 ètɪ ányɔ́ k'úŋwɪ ((50 x 2) + 1) or
 óhà k'úŋwí
- ...
- 111 ètɪ ányɔ́ ku lɪvunwɪ or óhà ku lɪvunwɪ

• • •

200 ètì éné or óhà ínyɔ

• • •

1000 mpimù (borrowed from Twi)

I offer no explanation for changes in vowels, consonants, or tones in the above list (e.g., ààva nyo '20' but àvla àtè '30') other than that that's the way the Busm count.

Full concord applies only to the cardinal number únwí '1', which takes prefixes from the series for Advanced vowels.

T11 X + N (Y) úñwí + X =====)

X + N (Y) ± Conc + -ηwí ± + X
[+Adv]

where X = any string or none

Y = any intervening modifiers of N

ᑕᑎᑎᑎ ᑦᑎᑦᑦ 'one man'

atu únwí 'one elephant'

ɔma úŋwí 'one town'

libwi líŋwí 'one pot'

kɔ̃di kúnwí 'one cloth'

kàjìjè kénwí 'one basket'

In general, concord doesn't apply to any other cardinal number, except that when the numbers ínyó '2' through èkú '6' modifies a noun prefixed with A- immediately preceding, the number gets prefixed with /a-/ instead of its usual vowel, optionally.

bànáà ínyó 'two men'

Batu ínyó 'two elephants'

lɛma ínyó 'two towns'

kòjìjè ínyó 'two baskets'

ebwi ányó 'two pots'

adi ányó 'two cloths'

ebwi àtè 'three pots'

ebwi áné 'four pots'

ebwi àlǎ 'five pots'

ebwi àkú 'six pots'

adi àtè 'three cloths'

adi áné 'four cloths'

adi àl [́] ṣ	'five cloths'
adi àk [́] ũ	'six cloths'

Ordinal numbers. Ordinal numbers are formed by suffixing -di , presumably the same -di that is the participle suffix, to the respective ordinal number. There is a suppletive form ù.de- which takes the place of úṇwí '1',

P24 Ordinal -----) Cardinal + -di

T12 ± úṇwí ± + -di =====) ± ù.dedi ±

The first six ordinal numbers are subject to concord as well; the ordinals corresponding to the cardinals úṇwí '1', ínyṑ '2', and íné '4' take prefixes from the Advanced series, and the ordinals corresponding to the cardinals ètè '3', èl[́]ṣ '5', and èk[́]ũ '6' take prefixes from the Unadvanced series.

T13 ínyṑdi =====) ù.nyṑdi

T14 ètèdi =====) ù.tèdi

T15 ínédi =====) u.nédi

T16 èlṑndi =====) ù.lṑndi

T17 èkundi =====) ù.kundi

In isolation, then, the ordinal numbers are

1st	ùdedi
2nd	ùnyɔ̃di
3rd	ɔ̃tɛdi
4th	unedì
5th	ɔ̃lɔ̃ndi
6th	ɔ̃kundi
7th	matɛdi
8th	manɛdi
9th	leyàŋwidi
10th	lèvudi
11th	lèvunwidi
12th	lèvunyɔ̃di
...	
20th	àvlanyɔ̃di
...	
30th	àvlaàtɛdi
...	

and we can see the operation of concord in the following examples:

ùculi ùdedi

the 1st person

ùculi ùny>di	the 2nd person
ùculi òtèdi	the 3rd person
ùculi matèdi	the 7th person

bèculi bèdèdi	the 1st people
bèculi bèny>di	the 2nd people
bèculi bàtèdi	the 3rd people
bèculi matèdi	the 7th people

lèpa lldèdi	the 1st fruit bat
lèpa liny>di	the 2nd fruit bat
lèpa lètèdi	the 3rd fruit bat
lèpa matèdi	the 7th fruit bat

bapa bèdèdi	the 1st fruit bats
bapa bèny>di	the 2nd fruit bats
bapa bàtèdi	the 3rd fruit bats
bapa matèdi	the 7th fruit bats

kawè kèdèdi	the 1st mortar
kawè kèny>di	the 2nd mortar

kawε kàtɛdi	the 3rd mortar
kawε matɛdi	the 7th mortar
kɔwε kùdɛdi	the 1st mortars
kɔwε kùnyɔdi	the 2nd mortars
kɔwε kɔtɛdi	the 3rd mortars
kɔwε matɛdi	the 7th mortars
kɔdi kùdɛdi	the 1st cloth
kɔdi kùnyɔdi	the 2nd cloth
kɔdi kɔtɛdi	the 3rd cloth
kɔdi matɛdi	the 7th cloth
adi èdɛdi	the 1st cloths
adi ènyɔdi	the 2nd cloths
adi àtɛdi	the 3rd cloths
adi matɛdi	the 7th cloths

and so on.

Cardinal and ordinal numbers used together. As stated above, when cardinal and ordinal numbers are used together

to modify a noun, the cardinal number precedes the ordinal:

bànnà manè bédèdi	'the first 8 men'
lèma ínyó lldèdi	'the first 2 towns'

as in

sì asì Hohoe, lèma ínyó lldèdi
 when 2s+PRES+depart Hohoe, towns 2 first
 'When you leave Hohoe, the first two towns
 ñdi Befu, lèma ínyó llinyódi ñdi Bakpèlè,
 REL+be Akpafu, towns 2 second REL+be Likpe,
 are Akpafu, the second two towns are Likpe,
 lèma íné lètèdi ñdi Bàlèmi.
 towns 4 third REL+be Lèlèmi
 the third four towns are Lèlèmi.'

"Counting plurals". Of some interest, though of quite minimal importance within the language, is a phenomenon I call "counting plurals," a phenomenon restricted to about half a dozen nouns which have two distinct plural forms, one for use when the noun is not modified by a cardinal number and another for use when the noun is modi-

fied by a cardinal number.

ùculi úḡwí	'one person'
bèculi báḡè	'these people'
ḡculi èlṣ́ báḡè	'these five people'
kècweni kénḡwí	'one piece of firewood'
ècweni áḡè	'these pieces of firewood'
ḡcweni èlṣ́ áḡè	'these fives pieces of firewood'

The members of Noun Class IX, KA/N , may, perhaps, be a reduced version of this:

kemo kúnḡwí	'one farm'
mmo áḡè	'these farms'
mmo èlṣ́ áḡè	'these five farms'
kuvo kúnḡwí	'one medicine'
mvo áḡè	'these medicines'
mvo èlṣ́ áḡè	'these five medicines'

klùkuì	short
jeɛɛ	ordinary, average
lìdu-lìdu	different
piì	many
pim	great
ɛɛè	few
mama	different
sẽẽ	clean, neat
su	dark
tũũ	black

In addition, there are two numerical adjectives, píì 'many, much' and ɛɛè 'few'.

In addition to the above one-word adjectives, it is possible to form adjectival phrases by suffixing -di to a Noun Phrase referring to the characteristic desired; the two commonest adjectival phrases are

lìvètè lèwɔdi

leaf LE+born+di

'New leaf like', (i.e., 'green')

and

àk>kò lìmwide

chicken fat+di

'chicken-fat-like' (i.e., 'yellow'),

as in

k>di lìvètè lèw>di kómò

cloth leaf new-like that

'that green cloth'

and

k>di àk>kò lìmwide kómò

cloth chicken fat-like that

'that yellow cloth'

Determiners

Determiners are used either to indicate the spatial relationship that a noun has to the speaker or to indicate referential relationship. All determiners are subject to concord, and all determiners take concordial prefixes from the Unadvanced series of prefixes.

P25	Det	-----)	Conc	{ Det _{Spa} Det _{Ref}
-----	-----	--------	------	--

The absence of any determiner is normally the equivalent of the English indefinite article "a, an."

Spatial determiners. There are two different series of spatial determiners used in the Baglo sub-dialect of Lèlèmi: one series of two terms which is considered to be "Standard Buem" and another series of three terms which is used-only locally.

"Standard Buem"

Speaker close	ḡ.mè	'this'
Speaker far & hearer near; previous reference	ḡ.mḡ	'that, the'

Baglo

Speaker close	ᵘ.mè	'this'
Speaker far & hearer close; previous reference	ᵘ.nvᵚ	'that, the'
Speaker & hearer far	ᵘ.njè	'yonder'

"Standard"Baglo

ᵚnàᵚnà ᵚmè	ᵚnàᵚnà ᵚmè	'this man'
ᵚnàᵚnà ᵚmᵚ	ᵚnàᵚnà ᵚnvᵚ	'that, the man'
ᵚnàᵚnà ᵚmᵚ	ᵚnàᵚnà ᵚnjè	'yonder man'
bàᵚnàᵚnà báᵚmè	bàᵚnàᵚnà báᵚmè	'these men'
bàᵚnàᵚnà báᵚmᵚ	bàᵚnàᵚnà báᵚnvᵚ	'those, the men'
bàᵚnàᵚnà báᵚmᵚ	bàᵚnàᵚnà báᵚnjè	'yonder men'
ᵚma ᵚmè	ᵚma ᵚmè	'this town'
ᵚma ᵚmᵚ	ᵚma ᵚnvᵚ	'that, the town'
ᵚma ᵚmᵚ	ᵚma ᵚnjè	'yonder'
lɛma lémè	lɛma lémè	'these towns'
lɛma lémᵚ	lɛma lénvᵚ	'those, the towns'
lɛma lémᵚ	lɛma lénjè	'yonder towns'

kabe kámè	kabe kámè	'this fish'
kabe kámò	kabe kánvò	'that, the fish'
kabe kámò	kabe kánjè	'yonder fish'
kabe kómè	kabe kómè	'these fish'
kabe kómò	kabe kónvò	'those, the fish'
kabe kómò	kabe kónjè	'yonder fish'
kadi kómè	kadi kómè	'this cloth'
kadi kómò	kadi kónvò	'that, the cloth'
kadi kómò	kadi kónjè	'yonder cloth'
adi ámé	adi ámé	'these cloths'
adi ámò	adi ánvò	'those, the cloths'
adi ámò	adi ánjè	'yonder cloths'
nte bómè	nte bómè	'this palm wine'
nte bómò	nte bónvò	'that, the p.w.'
nte bómò	nte bónjè	'yonder p.w.'

The referential determiner. In addition to the determiners with spatial reference, there is one determiner ɛ̃.di 'a certain', which has no spatial reference, but which is used to refer to a/^{specific} individual or individuals, not previously referred to, which belong to a larger group of individuals. Its use, therefore, in a sentence like

ɔ̃klàma ɔ̃di ɔ̃dù mùnà èse.

dog certain 3s+PAS+kill my goat

'A certain dog killed my goat.'

contrasts with the absence of a determiner in

ɔ̃klàma ɔ̃dù mùnà èse.

dog 3s+PAS+kill my goat

'A dog killed my goat.',

in which the speaker is indifferent as to which dog, and with the use of any spatial determiner in

ɔ̃klàma ɔ̃mɔ̃ ɔ̃dù mùnà èse.

dog the 3s+PAS+kill my goat.

'The dog killed my goat.' or 'That dog killed my goat.',

in which the dog in question has been previously referred

to or is being pointed to.

As is the case with other determiners, the referential determiner is subject to concord and belongs to the Unadvanced vowel harmony pattern.

ɔ̀nà̀nà ɔ̀di	'a certain man'
bà̀nà̀nà badi	'certain men'
ɔ̀ma ɔ̀di	'a certain town'
lɛma lɛdi	'certain towns'
kabɛ kadi	'a certain fish'
kɔ̀bɛ kɔ̀di	'certain fish'
kɔ̀di kɔ̀di	'a certain cloth'
adi adi	'certain cloths'
ntɛ bɔ̀di	'certain palm wine'

It seems quite likely that the stem of the determiner, -di, is the suffix used with participles and is related to the noun ɔ̀di, lɛ- 'an article'; this view is enhanced by the existence of the pair ùtsuli, bè- 'a person' and ùcwɛdi, bè- 'somebody, certain people'.

Use with other modifiers. There seem to be no restrictions on the use of determiners with other modifiers other

than with relative clauses, where some special forms are used. On a contrastive basis, it should be noted that determiners, especially spatial determiners, are used quite frequently with possessives:

mùná èse ɔ́mè	'this goat of mine'
mùná èse ɔ́mò	'that goat of mine'
mùná bèse báámè	'these goats of mine'
mùná bèse báámò	'those goats of mine'
Kòfi kɔ́di kɔ́mè	'this cloth of Kofi's'
Kòfi kɔ́di kɔ́mò	'that cloth of Kofi's'
Kòfi adi áámè	'these cloths of Kofi's'
Kòfi adi áámò	'those cloths of Kofi's'

It should also be noted that the spatial determiners can also be used with infinitives (see pp 224⁴⁶):

nwa bafonù bɔ́ku bɔ́mè bɔ́dià.

his sheep INF+chew this XVIII+PRES+NEG+be good

'this eating of sheep of his' isn't good.'

Relative Clauses

A Relative Clause consists of a Relative Pronoun followed by a Sentence.

P26 S_{Rel} -----) RelP + Sent

In Lèlèmi, the Relative Pronoun consists of a concord marker on Mid tone followed by -ni, which is probably the "oral comma" discussed on p⁷ 448~~8~~; as for determiners, the concord markers for the Relative Pronoun come from the Unadvanced series.

P27 RelP -----) Conc + -ni
 [-HiTo] [-Adv]
 [-LoTo]

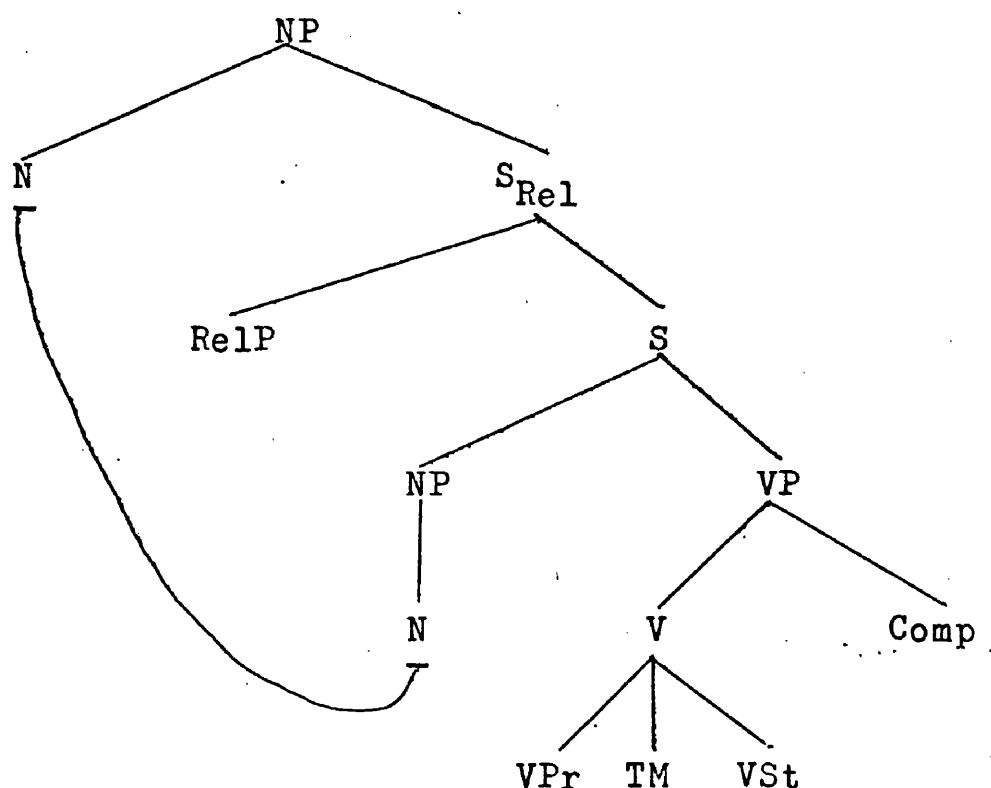
When the Relative Pronoun ɔ̃.ni follows the determiner
 ɔ̃.mè 'the, that', the two are merged to form ɔ̃.méni .

T18 SD: ± Conc + -mè ± + RelP
SC: ± Conc + -méni ±

There are two different types of Relative Clause: in one type, the subject of the embedded sentence is referentially identical to the head noun which is modified by the Relative Clause; in the other type, the subject

of the embedded sentence is different from the head noun the Relative Clause modifies. These two types will be referred to as "Same Subject" and "Different Subject", respectively.

"Same Subject" Relative Clauses. These have underlying Phrase-markers approximately like:



where VPr = Verb Prefix, TM = Tense Marker, and Comp = Complement

or in linear notation:

N Conc + -ni [S N + VPr + TM + VSt + Comp] S

This Phrase-marker is exemplified by

ɔ̀nà̀nà̀ ɔ̀ni [S ɔ̀nà̀nà̀ VPr + PAS + -ku lɛna] S

man RelP man VPr + PAS + chew meat

kɔ̀bɛ̀ kɔ̀mɔ̀ kɔ̀ni [S kɔ̀bɛ̀ VPr + PRES + -kùì] S

fish the RelP fish VPr + PRES + dry

bàasɛ̀ bani [S bàasɛ̀ VPr + FUT + -veì] S

birds RelP birds VPr + Fut + fly

òlòkubi ɔ̀ni [S òlòkubi VPr + PAS + NEG + -ɲwa lɪlù] S

girl RelP girl VPr + PAS + NEG + cook yam

banabì bani [S banabì VPr + PRES + NEG + -ti àlà] S

boys RelP boys VPr + PRES + NEG + know anything

lìbwì lèméni [S lìbwì VPr + FUT + NEG + -bìè] S

pot this+RelP pot VPr + FUT + NEG + -break

These Phrase-markers are then transformed as follows:

the subjects of the embedded sentences are deleted and

the Verb Prefixes are rewritten as Relative forms (discussed on pp 324 ff).

T19 SD: N' (X) RelP (Poss) N' (Y) VPr + TM + Z

SC: N' (X) RelP + Rel + TM + Z

where X = intervening modifiers of N'

Y = (Modif)(Quant)

Z = the remainder of the Verb Phrase

The surface structures for the underlying Phrase-markers on the preceding page are, then,

ɔ̀nà̀nà ɔ̀ni nakù lɛna

man RelP Rel+PAS+chew meat

'a man who ate meat'

kòbè kómò kɔ̀ni m̀òkùì

fish the RelP Rel+PRES+dry

'the fish which are drying'

bàasè bani ònuvèi

birds RelP Rel+FUT+fly

'birds which will fly'

òlòkubi ɔ̀ni nàtanwa lìlù

girl RelP Rel+PAS+NEG+cook yam

'a girl who didn't cook yam'

banabì bani nààti àlà

boys RelP Rel+PRES+NEG+know anything

'boys who don't know anything'

lìbwì lèméni nèebiè

pot this+RelP Rel+FUT+NEG+break

'this pot which won't break'

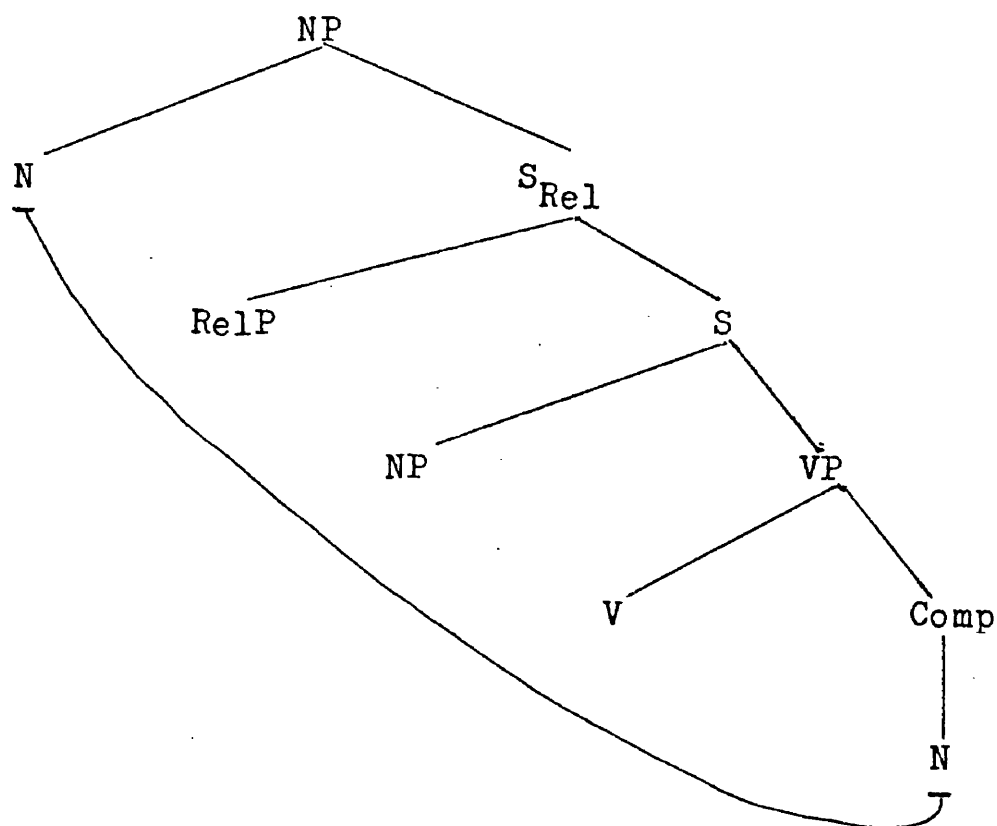
Verbs whose prefix is rewritten as a concord marker are ungrammatical:

*ṣnàṣà ṣni ṣkù lena

*kṣbè kṣmṣ kṣni kṣkùl

*banabì bani bàlàti àlà

"Different Subject" Relative Clauses. There are two sub-types of the "Different Subject" type of Relative Clause: one in which the nominal common to both the embedded sentence and to the dominating Noun Phrase is the object of the verb of the embedded sentence, and the other in which the shared noun is the possessor of another noun in the embedded sentence. The first of these sub-types has an underlying structure approximately like:



or in linear notation:

N Conc + -ni [S NP + V + N]_S

This Phrase-marker is exemplified by:

ɔ̀nà̀nà ɔ̀ni [S ɔ̀klà̀ma ɔ̀dù ɔ̀nà̀nà]_S

man RelP dog 3s+PAS+bite man

kɔ̀bɛ̀ kɔ̀ni [S àjìrɛ̀mwa ɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀ kɔ̀bɛ̀]_S

fish RelP cat 3s+PRES+want fish

kutu kɔ̀ni [S mɛ̀nsà ɔ̀lɔ̀di kutu]_S

stew RelP Mensah 3s+FUT+eat stew

ɔ̀bànci ɔ̀ni [_S bátáku ɔ̀bànci] _S

cassava RelP 3p+PAS+NEG+chew cassava

ubi ɔ̀ni [_S lítìná ubi ínglì] _S

child RelP 1s+PAS+teach child English

lɛdi lɛni [_S lítìná ubi lɛdi] _S

language RelP 1s+PAS+teach child language

These Phrase-markers are converted to surface structures simply by deleting the shared nominal in the embedded Relative Clause.

T20 SD: N' (X) RelP + NP + V (Y)(Poss) N' (Z) (Y)

SC: N' (X) RelP + NP + V (Y)

where X = intervening modifiers of N'

Y = remainder of Complement not
dominated by N'

Z = (Modif)(Quant)

The surface forms for the preceding underlying structures is, then,

ɔ̀nǎná ɔ̀ni ɔ̀klàma ɔ̀dù

'a man that a dog bit'

kɔ̀bɛ kɔ̀ni àjìrɛmwa ɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀

'fish that the cat wants'

kutu kɔni mensà òlòdi

'stew Mensah will eat'

òbànci ɔni bátáku

'cassava they didn't eat'

ubi ɔni lɛ̀tìná ínglì

'a child I taught English to'

lɛ̀di leni lɛ̀tìná ubi

'a language I taught a child'

When the shared noun is the possessor of a noun in the embedded sentence, then the only alteration in the embedded sentence is to replace the shared noun with the appropriate possessive pronoun.

skubi ɔni ŋwa ɔku ɔ̀yì

'a schoolchild whose book got lost'

ɔga ɔni ŋwa òklàma úyè m̀nà kaakubi

'a chief whose dog stole my chicken'

ɔga ɔni m̀nà òklàma úyè ŋwa kaakubi

'a chief whose chicken my dog stole'

ɔtɔ ɔni ñca ŋwa kemo

'a house I live inside of'

Quantifiers

There are eleven quantifiers which occur at the very end of a Noun Phrase containing either a Nominal group or an independent or objective pronoun. These quantifiers are:

biàlà	'any'
bũũ	'different'
ète	'only'
fwiì	'all'
gẽẽ	'real, actual, rightful'
kàni, kàni-ete	'the same'
lènɔ̀	'as well, also'
leti, leti-pe	'only'
mene	'and others similar'
sɔ̀ɔ̀	Baglo: 'only'
	Okajakrom: 'entire, whole, intact'
pe	'only'

Quantifiers are used in phrases like:

àbu fwiì	'all of us'
nàná àje mene	'Nana Agyei and others like him'
bèse fwiì	'all goats'

ḡnta ḡkḡdi leti-pe

'only milled corn'

lena liḡfulḡdi lenḡ

'boiled meat as well'

bḡtsuli mate pe 'only seven people

liḡḡ ḡte kḡni 'the same three yams'

baga ḡḡḡ 'the true chiefs'

eji bliḡswḡ ḡmḡ sḡḡ

'only these small trees'

banamḡ biḡlḡ 'any children'

Co-occurrence restrictions. It is possible for certain of the quantifiers to co-occur with each other, as in

baga ḡḡḡ mene 'true chiefs and others like them'

bḡnḡnḡ kḡni ḡte 'only the same men'

skubi mene fwiḡ 'all people like school-children

skḡbi fwiḡ mene 'all school-children and others like them';

However, it was impracticable to note co-occurrence restrictions other than that fwiḡ 'all' is incompatible with

the quantifier *biàlà* 'any', the number *únwí* 'one', and the numerical adjectives *elèè* 'few', and *piì* 'a lot of'.

There are two other co-occurrence restrictions, which are rather more significant:

i. When *mene* 'and others similar' is used as the quantifier of the subject of a verb or of the referent of a pronoun, then plural agreement forms must be used.

nàà àje mene bébò muna kud>.

Nana Agyei et al. 3p+PAS+come my side

'Nana Agyei and others like him came to me.'

**nàà àje mene úbò muna kud>*.

ii. When the subject of a verb is modified by any of the quantifiers with the meaning "only", then a relative form of the verb must be used.

kwàku ète nébò.

Kwaku only Rel+PAS+come

'Only Kwaku came.'

bààà ète bàmè leti-pe nékpì.

men three these only Rel+PAS+die

'Only these three men died.'

*kwàku ète úbò.

*bànnànnà ète bàmè leti-pe bébò.

Personal Pronouns

There are three series of personal pronouns:

- i. Objective pronouns, which are used following a verb,
- ii. Possessive pronouns, which function as the possessor of a Noun, and
- iii. Independent pronouns, which are used for everything else.

P28

Pro -----)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pro}_{\text{Obj}} / \text{V} \text{ ---} \\ \text{Pro}_{\text{Poss}} / \text{---} \text{N} \\ \text{Pro}_{\text{Ind}} \end{array} \right.$$

In addition, the verbal concord markers discussed on pp 238 ff can also be considered as a type of personal pronoun.

Personal pronouns are marked either for person and number or for Noun Class and number. There are three persons which are distinguished:

1s	the speaker	1p	the speaker(s) and others
2	one listener	2	more than one listener
3	some other	3	several others

There are no sex distinctions made in the pronoun system, nor is there any distinction made between "inclusive" and "exclusive" "we." Some of the distinctions made by the Noun Class system are collapsed in the pronoun system: there are seven distinctions made in the series of independent and objective pronouns, and six in the series of possessive pronouns. Since there is no simple one-to-one mapping possible between the distinctions of the independent and objective pronouns and those of the possessive pronouns, I shall not attempt to set up underlying forms for the personal pronouns and then derive all the surface pronouns from these underlying forms, even though for most of the surface pronouns the relationships are clear.

Objective pronouns. Objective pronouns follow immediately after a verb, and, as for other verbal objects, can occur only once in a serial construction (see pp 396 ff). There is some dialectal variation in the series of objective pronouns; the Baglo series is:

1s	mì	1p	bù
2	ḥ	2	mi
3	ḥ	3	mà

Noun Prefix

O-		
A- (sing.)		ḥ
Ø- (sing.)		ḥ
BA-		
Ø- (plur.)		mà
LE- (sing.)		nì
LE- (plur.)		nyà
A- (plur.)		nyà
KA-		kà
KO-		kù
N-		
BO-		mù

These objective pronouns are exemplified in sentences like:

ónù mì.

'He saw me.'

ónù ḥ.

'He saw you.'

ónù ñ.	'He saw him/her/it.'
ónù bù.	'He saw us.'
ónù mà.	'He saw them.'
úyè èse; lénù ñ.	'He bought a goat; I saw it.'
úyè bèse; lénù mà.	'He bought goats; I saw them.'
úyè ɔtɔ; lénù ñ.	'He bought a house; I saw it.'
úyè letɔ; lénù nyà.	'He bought houses; I saw them.'
úyè lìbwì; lénù nì.	'He bought a pot; I saw it.'
úyè èbwì; lénù nyà.	'He bought pots; I saw them.'
úyè kɔdi; lénù kù.	'He bought a cloth; I saw it.'
úyè adi; lénù nyà.	'He bought cloths; I saw them.'
úyè kàbè; lénù kà.	'He bought a fish; I saw it.'
úyè kɔ̀bè; lénù kù.	'He bought fish; I saw them.'
úyè kàjì; lénù kà.	'He bought a monkey; I saw it.'
úyè bàjì; lénù mà.	'He bought monkeys; I saw them.'
úyè nte; lénù mù.	'He bought palm wine; I saw it.'

Independent pronouns. The series of independent pronouns uses the same distinctions as the series of objective pronouns. The same series of independent pronouns is used throughout the Buem-speaking area, and that series is:

1s	àmi	1p	àbu
2	àwo	2	amì
3	ànu	3	àma

Noun Prefix

O-		
A- (sing.)		ànu
Ø- (sing.)		
BA-		
Ø- (plur.)		àma
LE- (sing.)		
LE- (plur.)		ànya
A- (plur.)		
KA-		àka
KO-		àku
N-		àmu
BO-		

Independent pronouns are most commonly used for emphasis:

àmi lésì àmerikà.

'I come from America.'

àwo ósì gánà.

'You come from Ghana.'

àṅu ́sì nàìjirià. 'He comes from Nigeria.'

àbu b́sì lisemi. 'We come from Teteman.'

amì b́sì baikà. 'You come from Baika.'

àma bási lẹgolò. 'They come from Baglo.'

m̀y ́ ese ́nv̀; àṅu ̀dìà.

'I like that goat; it's fine.'

m̀y ́ bese b́nv̀; àma ̀dìà.

'I like those goats; they're fine.'

m̀y ́ ́t ́ ́nv̀; àṅu ̀dìà.

'I like that house; it's fine.'

m̀y ́ let ́ ĺnv̀; ànya l̀dìà.

'I like those houses; they're fine.'

m̀y ́ l̀bwì ĺnv̀; àni l̀dìà.

'I like that pot; it's fine.'

m̀y ́ èbwì ánv̀; ànya àdìà.

'I like those pots; they're fine.'

m̀y ́ k ́di ḱnv̀; àku k̀dìà.

'I like that cloth; it's fine.'

m̀y ́ adi ánv̀; ànya àdìà.

'I like those cloths; they're fine.'

mòy> kàbè kánv>; àka kàdìà.

'I like that fish; it's fine.'

mòy> kòbè kónv>; àku kòdìà.

'I like those fish; they're fine.'

mòy> kàjì kánv>; àka kàdìà.

'I like that monkey; it's fine.'

mòy> bàjì bánv>; àma bàdìà.

'I like those monkeys; they're fine.'

mòy> nte bónv>; àmu bòdìà.

'I like that palm-wine; it's fine.'

Independent pronouns can also be used as emphatic objects; in this case, they are fronted to appear before the subject of the verb.

T21 SD: X + NP + V + Pro_{Ind} + X

SC: X + Pro_{Ind} + NP + V + X

Hence, instead of

baal> mì kwàku.

3p+PRES+call me Kwaku

'I'm called Kwaku.',

we get the much more common

àmi bààlḽkwàku.

me 3p+PRES+call Kwaku

'I'm called Kwaku.' or 'My name is Kwaku.'

Similarly,

àwo bààlḽ àkḽsuà. 'You're called Akosuah.'

àṇu bààlḽ atta. 'He's called Attah.'

àbu bààlḽ bàlèmi. 'We're called the Balèmi.'

amì bààlḽ bàbrùni. 'You're called "White men."'

àma bààlḽ befufu. 'They're called the Akpafu.'

and, in the frame of

bààyḽ _____ ḽnvḽ; _____ бага бааwìà.

3p+PRES+want _____ that; _____ chiefs 3p+PRES+seek

'They want that _____; that's what chiefs seek.',

are

bààyḽ ese ḽnvḽ; àṇu бага бааwìà. 'goat'

bààyḽ bese bánvḽ; àma бага бааwìà. 'goats'

bààyḽ ḽtḽ ḽnvḽ; àṇu бага бааwìà. 'house'

bààyḽ letḽ lénvḽ; ànya бага бааwìà. 'houses'

bààyḽ libwì lénvḽ; àni бага бааwìà. 'pot'

bààyḽ èbwì ánvḽ; ànya бага бааwìà. 'pots.'

bààyḽ kḽdi kḽnvḽ; àku бага бааwìà. 'cloth'

bàày▷ adi ánvò; ànya бага баawlà.	'cloths'
bàày▷ kàbè kánvò; àka бага баawlà.	'fish'
bàày▷ kòbè kónvò; àku бага баawlà.	'fish'
bàày▷ kàjì kánvò; àka бага баawlà.	'monkey'
bàày▷ bàjì bánvò; àma бага баawlà.	'monkeys'
bàày▷ nte bónvò; àmu бага баawlà.	'palm-wine'

Finally, independent pronouns are used instead of objective pronouns as the second or subsequent object when a verb has two or more conjoined objects; the first pronoun object does come from the objective series, however.

léewia libwì ku òfè; líyè nì ku ànu.

1s+PAS+CONT+seek pot and calabash; 1s+PAS+buy it and it
'I was looking for a pot and a calabash, and I bought
them.'

léewia avalà ku kamu; líyè nyà ku àka.

1s+PAS+CONT+seek eggs and rice; 1s+PAS+buy them and some
'I was looking for eggs and rice, and I bought them.'

(In rapid speech, however, the neutral form mà is oft
used instead:

léewia libwì ku òfè; líyè mà.

1s+PAS+CONT+seek pot and calabash; 1s+PAS+buy them

'I was looking for a pot and calabash, and I bought them.')

Possessive pronouns. Possessive pronouns have been discussed on pp 166 ff.

Reflexive or reciprocal pronouns. The noun lɛlɔ (lɔlɔ in Okajakrom) 'body' is the closest equivalent in Buem to a reflexive or reciprocal pronoun. When lɛlɔ is used as the object of a verb, no possessive pronoun is used with it.

lédù lɛlɔ.	'I killed myself.'
ádù lɛlɔ.	'You killed yourself.'
ódù lɛlɔ.	'He killed himself.'
bódù lɛlɔ.	'We killed ourselves.'
bédù lɛlɔ.	'You killed yourselves.'
bádù lɛlɔ.	'They killed themselves.'

etc. When lɛlɔ is used to intensify the subject of the verb, a possessive pronoun is used with it.

- lédù jàta muna lelɔ. 'I killed a lion myself.'
 ádù jàta fùla lelɔ. 'You killed a lion yourself.'
 ɔdù jàta ɲwa lelɔ. 'He killed a lion himself.'
 bɔdù jàta bùla lelɔ. 'We killed a lion ourselves.'
 bédù jàta bina lelɔ. 'You killed a lion yourselves.'
 bádù jàta bana lelɔ. 'They killed a lion themselves.'
 kòfi ɔdù jàta ɲwa lelɔ.
 'Kofi killed a lion himself.'

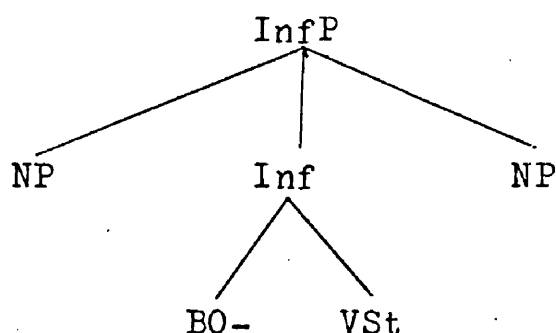
Infinitives

The final type of Noun Phrase is the Infinitival Phrase. An Infinitival Phrase has the following structure: an optional Noun Phrase which can function as the subject of the Verb Stem in the Infinitive, an Infinitive which consists of the Noun Class marker for Noun Class XVIII, BO- , followed by a Verb Stem, and following the Infinitive another Noun Phrase which can function as the object of the Verb Stem in the Infinitive. When the Infinitival Phrase is the subject of a sentence, it can also be followed by an optional spatial determiner marked for concord with Noun Class XVIII.

P29 InfP ----) (NP) Inf (NP) (BO- + Det_{Spa} /__VP)

P30 Inf -----) BQ- + VSt

Ignoring the spatial determiner, a fully expanded Infinitival Phrase has the Phrase-marker overleaf:



The normal Vowel Harmony rule operates on the prefix to the infinitive, which has the same tone, in isolation, as the first tone of the Verb Stem.

T22	SD:	BO-	+	VSt
	SC:	BO-	+	VSt
		[\neg Adv]		[\neg Adv]
				([+Syll])
		[ℓ LoTo]		[ℓ LoTo]

(There are certain tonal alternations which occur in context; these will be discussed presently.) The structures represented by these rules can be exemplified by:

kɔ̌fi bɔ̌ŋwà lɪ̀lù

Kofi INF+harvest yam

'Kofi's harvesting of yam'

amà bɔ̌ŋwa lɪ̀lù

Ammah INF+cook yam

'Ammah's cooking of yam'

ṣ̀klàma b̀̀d̀̀d̀̀ m̀̀nà èse

dog INF+bite my goat

'a dog's biting of my goat'

àj̀̀r̀̀m̀̀wa b̀̀du

cat INF+kill

'a cat's killing'

b̀̀du àj̀̀r̀̀m̀̀wa

INF+kill cat

'killing a cat'

b̀̀m̀̀ẁ̀

INF+praise

'praising'

b̀̀tiyà àl̀̀

INF+learn things

'learning'

The Infinitival Phrase as subject of a verb. When an Infinitival Phrase is used as the subject of a verb, the Noun Phrase object, if any, of the infinitive is transposed to appear immediately before the infinitive.

T23 SD: (NP₁) Inf + NP₂ + VP

SC: (NP₁) NP₂ + Inf + VP

If the infinitive has the tone pattern Low-Low and the noun preceding it has the tone pattern Low-Mid, then the tone of the infinitive becomes Mid-Low, as would be the normal tonal alternation in sequences of Noun + Noun, as illustrated in Figure XI on page 185; it makes no difference whether the noun preceding the infinitive is the subject of the infinitive or its object.

kòfi lîlù bɔ̀ɲwà bɔ̀dîa bù.

Kofi yam XVIII+harvest XVIII+be-good us

'Kofi's yam harvesting is good for us.'

amà lîlù bɔ̀ɲwa bɔ̀dîa bù.

Ammah yam XVIII+cook XVIII+be-good us

'Ammah's yam cooking is good for us.'

ɔ̀klàma mùnà èse bɔ̀dù bɔ̀dîa bù.

dog my goat XVIII+bite XVIII+be-good us

'A dog's biting my goat is good for us.'

àjîrèmwa bɔ̀du bɔ̀dîa bù.

cat XVIII+kill XVIII+be-good us

'Killing a cat is good for us.' or

'A cat's killing is good for us.'

bùmwi bɔ̀dɪa bù.

XVIII+praise XVIII+be-good us

'Praise is good for us.'

àlà bɔ̀tɪyà bɔ̀dɪa bù.

things XVIII+learn XVIII+be-good us

'Learning is good for us.'

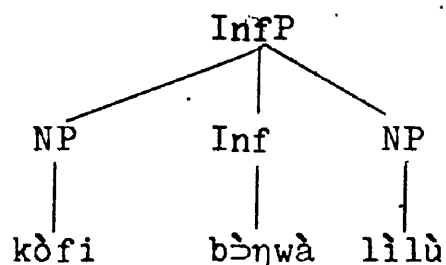
It will be noticed that phrases like

kòfi lɪlù bɔ̀ɲwà

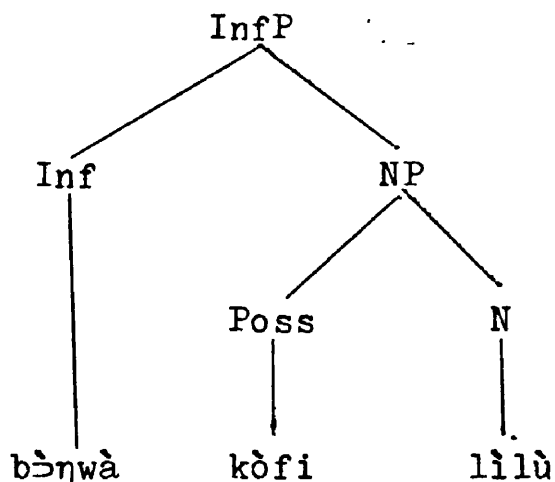
and

àjìrɛ̀mwa bɔ̀du

are inherently ambiguous--the first can be translated either as "Kofi's harvesting of yam" or as "the harvesting of Kofi's yam" and the second either as "a cat's killing" or as "the killing of a cat." This ambiguity arises from the same source as the ambiguity possible with derived nouns discussed on pp 140-1, i.e., whether the underlying structure of kòfi lɪlù bɔ̀ɲwà is

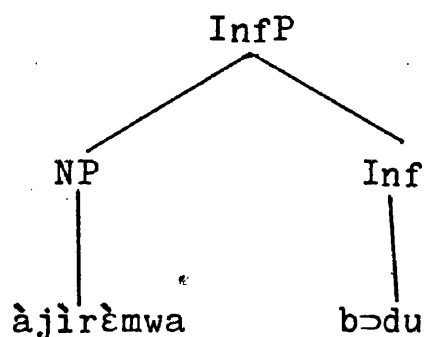


which gives the first interpretation, or whether it is

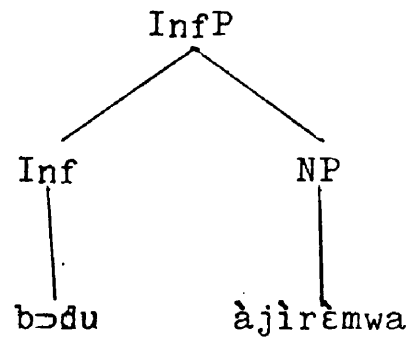


which yields the second interpretation. Similarly,

àjìrèṁwa bɔ̃du can come either from



which yields the first interpretation, or from



which yields the second interpretation. Phrases like these can be disambiguated only through context.

The Infinitival Phrase as object of a verb. There is a small number of verbs which can take infinitival complements; these verbs, discussed more fully on pp415-6 include

bɔbɔmɔdi	'to try'
bɔkana	'to be able to'
bɔti	'to know'
bɔtiyà	'to learn'
bɔyɔ	'to want'
bɔda ku	'to be in the midst of'.

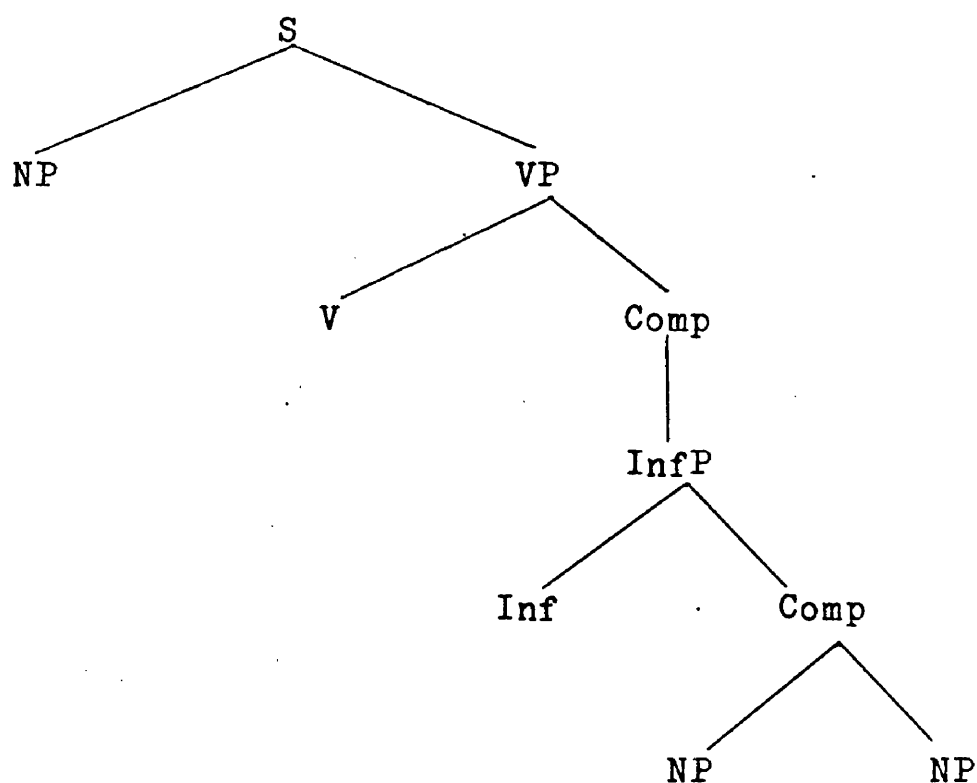
The infinitival complements to these verbs consist of an Infinitive followed by whatever complements the Verb

Stem of the Infinitive could usually take.

P31 InfP -----) Inf + Comp / [+V, ___ InfP] ___

Sentences whose complements are Infinitival Phrases

could have deep structures rather like



and can be exemplified by

i. $\text{b}^3\text{y}^3\text{b}^3 \text{b}^3\text{kpi}.$

3s+PRES+NEG+want Inf+die

'He doesn't want to die.'

where the complement to the Infinitive is \emptyset ;

ii. $\text{ᑳᑳ}y\text{ᑳᑳ}$ butiyà àlà.

3s+PRES+NEG+want Inf+learn things

'He doesn't want to learn.'

where the complement to the Infinitive is a single noun;

iii. $\text{ᑳᑳ}y\text{ᑳᑳ}$ butinà yao àlà.

3s+PRES+NEG+want Inf+teach Yao things

'He doesn't want to teach Yao anything.'

where the complement to the Infinitive is a sequence of two nouns;

iv. $\text{ᑳᑳ}y\text{ᑳᑳ}$ butiyà bᑳᑳwa.

3s+PRES+NEG+want Inf+learn Inf+cook

'She doesn't want to learn how to cook.'

where the complement to the Infinitive is another Infinitival Phrase; and

v. $\text{ᑳᑳ}y\text{ᑳᑳ}$ butiyà si ᑳkpe ᓃᓄᑳ úkpì lèdìjè.

3s+PRES+NEG+want Inf+learn if grasscutter the

3s+PAS+die morning

'She doesn't want to find out if the grasscutter died this morning.'

where the complement to the Infinitive is an embedded

Sentence.

Infinitives used for emphasis. The action of a verb in a main clause can be emphasized by inserting the Infinitive form of the verb immediately before the subject of the verb.

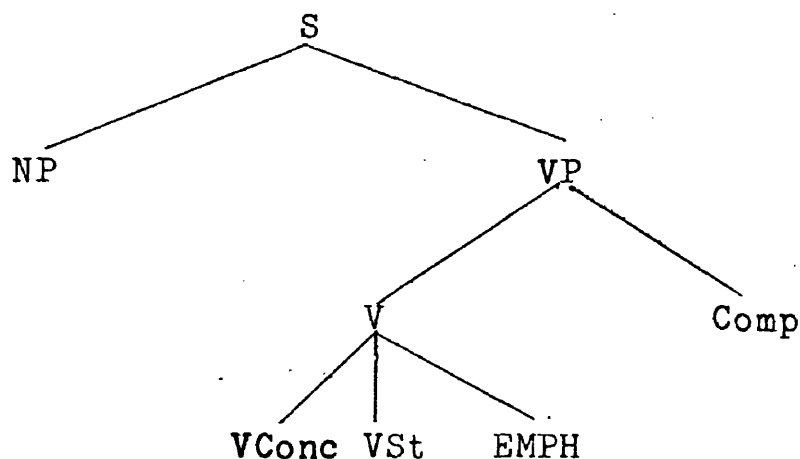
T24 SD: X + NP + VConc + VSt + EMPH + Y

SC: X + XVIII + VSt' + NP + FinP + VSt' + Y

where VConc = Finite Prefixes

X and Y = any strings

That is, an underlying Phrase-marker like



is transformed to a Phrase-marker like

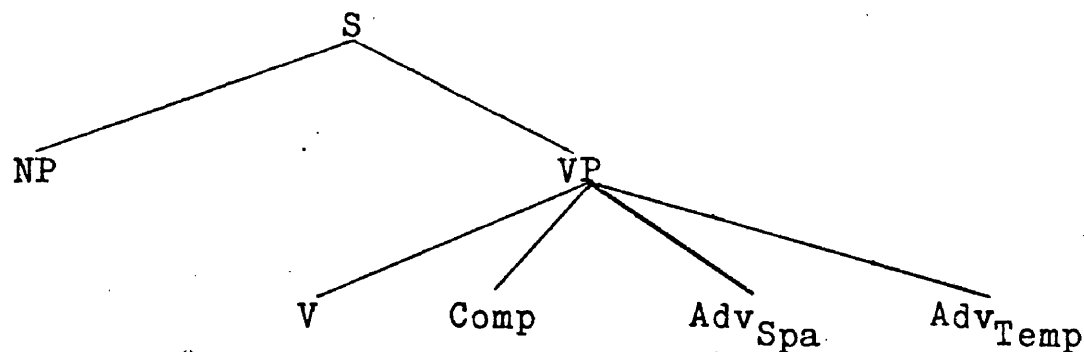
Part V. The Verb Phrase

The Verb Phrase

The Verb Phrase consists of a Verb (V) plus Complement (Comp), followed by optional space or time adverbials (Adv_{Spa} , Adv_{Temp}).

P32 VP -----) V + (Comp) (Adv_{Spa}) (Adv_{Temp})

This yields a Phrase-marker like:



The Verb

The Verb consists of a Finite Verb Prefix (FinP) followed by a Verb Stem (VSt):

P33 V -----) FinP + VSt

Verbal Concord markers. With the exception of verbs in certain types of relative clause or in certain types of purpose clause, all finite verbs must be prefixed by a Verbal Concord marker, which agrees with the subject of the verb in person and number or in Noun Class membership and number.

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{T25} \quad \text{VConc} \quad \text{-----}) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Sing} \\ \text{Plural} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{Conc} \end{array} \right. / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{array} \right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Sing} \\ \text{Plural} \end{array} \right] \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Nom} \\ \text{InfP} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right. \quad \text{---}
 \end{array}$$

As the rule states, the Verbal Concord markers used when the subject of the verb is a nominal or an infinitival phrase are the same as the concordial prefixes which mark the concord between a Noun and its modifiers. The Verbal Concord marker which refers to the first person singular has three syntactically conditioned allomorphs, MO- , LE- , and N- ; the Verbal Concord markers for the other persons are as follows:

1 sing	LE-, MO-, N-	1 plural	BO-
2	A-	2	BE-
3	O-	3	BA-

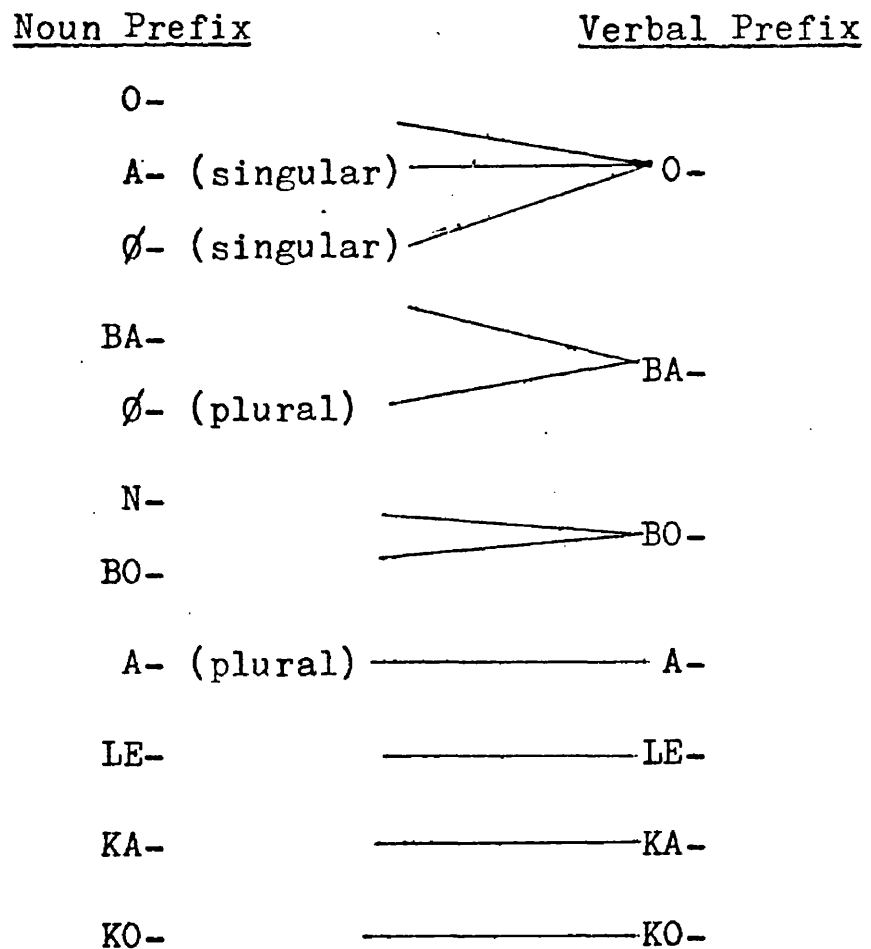


Figure XII

Verbal Concordial Prefixes

T26	2	Sing	=====)	A-
	3	Sing		O-
	1	Plural		BO-
	2	Plural		BE-
	3	Plural		BA-

The Verbal Concord markers are tabulated in Figure XII and can be exemplified by the paradigm for the affirmative present tense of the verb *bɔ̀dɪa* 'to be good'; since the personal pronouns are optional, they have been enclosed in parentheses.

(àmi) ñdɪa.	'I am good.'
(àwo) àdɪa.	'You are good.'
(ànɔ) ɔ̀dɪa.	'He/she/it is good.'
(àbu) bɔ̀dɪa.	'We are good.'
(ami) bèdɪa.	'You are good.'
(àma) bàdɪa.	'They are good.'
ɔ̀nàná ɔ̀mè ɔ̀dɪa.	'This man is good.'
bàná ná bàmè bàdɪa.	'These men are good.'
atu ɔ̀mè ɔ̀dɪa.	'This elephant is good.'
batu bàmè bàdɪa.	'These elephants are good.'

ɔtɔ ɔmè ɔdɪa.

lɛtɔ lémè lèdɪa.

lɛpa lémè lèdɪa.

bapa bámè bàdɪa.

lìbwì lémè lèdɪa.

èbwì ámè àdɪa.

kaji kámè kàdɪa.

baji bámè bàdɪa.

kàbwa kámè kàdɪa.

kòbwa kómè kòdɪa.

kemo kámè kàdɪa.

mmo bómè bòdɪa.

kofonù kómè kòdɪa.

bafonù bámè bàdɪa.

kɔdi kómè kòdɪa.

adi ámè àdɪa.

wɛwɛ ɔmè ɔdɪa.

bàwɛwɛ bámè bàdɪa.

ntɛ bómè bòdɪa.

animì ámè àdɪa.

lilu lémè lèdɪa.

'This house is good.'

'These houses are good.'

'This bat is good.'

'These bats are good.'

'This pot is good.'

'These pots are good.'

'This monkey is good.'

'These monkeys are good.'

'This hat is good.'

'These hats are good.'

'This farm is good.'

'These farms are good.'

'This sheep is good.'

'These sheep are good.'

'This cloth is good.'

'These cloths are good.'

'This dog is good.'

'These dogs are good.'

'This palm wine is good.'

'This rice is good.'

'This yam is good!' or

'These yams are good.'

kamu kámè kàdìà.

'This rice is good.'

kutu kómè kòdìà.

'This soup is good.'

ùwo òmè òdìà.

'This honey is good.'

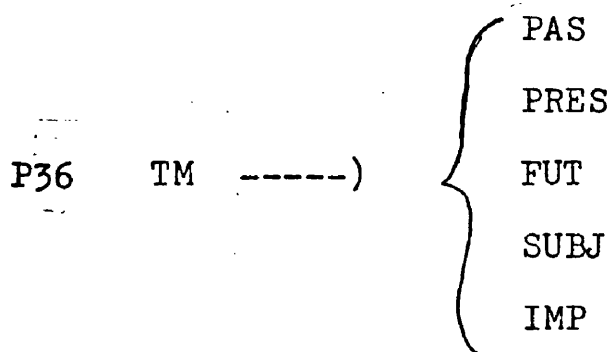
àlà bòtina bòdìà.

'Teaching is good.'

There are certain special concord rules which apply when the subject of the verb consists of a compound noun phrase; these rules are discussed on pp 372 ff

I discuss the formation of the Relative Verb forms on pp 324 ff

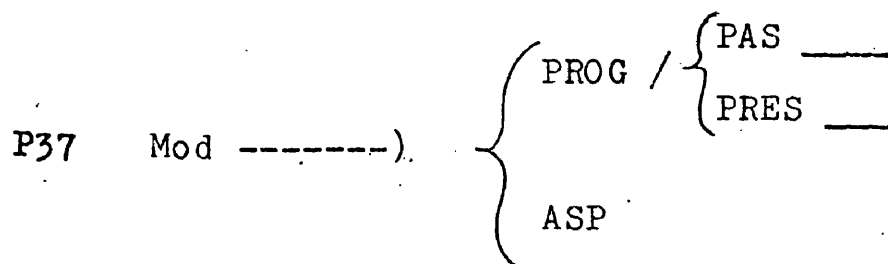
Tense markers. There is a five-term tense system with the terms Past (PAS), Present (PRES), Future (FUT), Subjunctive (SUBJ), and Imperative (IMP).



The terms of Past, Present, and Subjunctive are marked tonally and by the form of the first person singular concordial prefix. The Future and Imperative are

marked by affixation and by vowel harmony.

Modality markers. There are two types of Modality marker; one type contains the Progressive marker (PROG), which does not alter the vowel harmony characteristics of the verb, and the other type contains the various Aspect markers (ASP), which do alter the verb's vowel harmony pattern (See discussion on pp 66// and pp 28//). In general, the various Modality markers are restricted to occurrence in particular tenses and, in some cases, to particular verbs: the Progressive marker, for example, can occur only in conjunction with the Past or Present tenses. (Restrictions on the Aspect markers will be discussed on pp 28// with the expansion of ASP).



The Verb Root. The Verb Root, like the Noun Stem, consists of a sequence of sounds associated with a Complex Symbol, which states the syntactic and semantic restrictions which govern the use of the verb. The most important of these restrictions are those which control:

- i. what subjects and objects the verb can take (discussed under "Complementation"),
- ii. what tenses and modality markers the verb can take (discussed on p.261 and pp. 290^{ff}), and
- iii. what suffixes the verb can take, if any. (discussed in the next section).

To anticipate future discussion, Complex Symbols would have the following forms, for example:

- bùbò [+V, -PRES + PROG _____, _____ NP] 'to have'
- bubo [+V, -PRES (PROG) _____, _____ Place] 'to come'
- bòdà [+V, PRES (PROG) _____, Anim _____,
- _____ Abstract] 'to hold'
- bòdu [+V, -PRES _____, _____ Anim] 'to kill'
- bòku [+V, _____-I : -PRES _____, -Abstract _____,
_____ ± 'to be dried'; _____-LA :
-PRES _____, Anim _____, - _____ Abstract 'to dry']

bɔti [+V, -PRES + PROG _____, Anim _____,
 - _____ ± 'to know'; _____-A :
 -PRES _____, Anim _____ Abstract 'to
 learn'; _____-NA : -PRES _____,
 Anim _____ (Anim{NP) 'to show']

buse [+V, -PRES + PROG _____, _____ Adj] 'to be'

where, in accordance with the conventions of Chomsky (1965:111), a feature like [-PRES _____] is to be read as "not occurring in the Simple Present", a feature like [-PRES + PROG _____] is to be read as "not occurring in the Present Progressive", [Anim _____] is to be read as "must have an animate subject", etc. The feature [PRES (PROG)], associated with the verb bɔdà 'to grasp, to hold', is, therefore, a bit of an anomaly since bɔdà can occur in other tenses than just the Simple Present or Present Progressive; given the restrictions on the present tenses of other verbs, it seems useful to ensure that the present tenses for all verbs be fully specified.

Verb Suffixes. Diachronically, five verb suffixes can be identified:

i. -A

bɔ̌dɪa	'to be good'
bɔ̌dɪa	'to be enough'
budie	'to create; to remove'
bufie	'to catch'
bɔ̌hia	'to be important'
bulie	'to be sitting'
bɔ̌pua	'to be imminent'

ii. -I

bɔ̌kaɪ	'to remember'
bɔ̌paɪ	'to crack'
buveɪ	'to fly'

iii. -O

bɔ̌dɔ̌o	'to be full up; to arrive at'
bɔ̌fwɔ̌o	'to be mistaken'

iv. -LA

bɔ̌dulà	'to vomit'
bɔ̌fwalà	'to pierce a hole'
bɔ̌fwàlà	'to be white'

v. -LI/-MI/-NI

bubimì	'to unfold'
bùbwilì	'to fall down'
bùdùmi	'to insult'
bùfèni	'to scratch'
bɔlɛmì	'to carry piggy-back'
buŋweni	'to write'
buŋwuni	'to become'
bùnyimì	'to tie'
bùnyimì	'to suckle'
bɔvimì	'to peel'

Synchronically, however, all these suffixes, with the exception (to be discussed presently) of most instances of -LÀ[\] and a handful of instances of -A and -I, have completely lost whatever morphemic status they may once have had and should be considered as inseparable parts of the Verb Stem.

As for the exceptions:- In my discussion of transitivity, I deal primarily with verbs which have only one morphological form (i.e., in which the Verb Stem and the Verb Root are identical) regardless of whether

the verb is being used transitively or intransitively. There are, however, some 30 verbs which have one morphological form when they are used intransitively (in some cases, transitively, but with a single object) but a different morphological form when they are being used transitively (in some cases, transitively, but with a double object). The intransitive forms of many of these verbs are suffixed by -A or -I ; the transitive forms, however, are all suffixed by -LÀ .

1a. lècami lècɛwù.

plate LE+PRES+be-dirty

'The plate is dirty.'

b. àbla àcɛwùnà lècami.

Abla 3s+PRES+be-dirty+make plate

'Abla is making the plate dirty.'

2a. kutu kúbìè.

soup KU+PAS+spoil+become

'The soup got spoiled.'

b. àjwa úbìlè kutu.

Ajua 3s+PAS+spoil+make soup

'Ajua spoiled the soup.'

3a.. adi àakùì.

cloths A+PRES+dry+get

'The cloths are drying.'

b. kwàsi òkùlà adi.

Kwasi 3s+PRES+dry+make cloths

'Kwasi is drying the cloths.'

4a. ubi ònì ntu.

baby 3s+PAS+drink water

'The baby drank water.'

b. ònìnà ubi ntu.

3s+PAS+drink+make baby water

'She made the baby drink water.'

The suffix vowel harmonizes with the verb root (cf. bɔdia 'to be sufficient' and budie 'to remove'), and the consonant of the -LÀ suffix becomes /n/ if there is a nasal consonant in the verb root.

T27 SD: X + Vb + VSuff ±

C V

SC: X + C V + (L) A ±

[~~ɲ~~Nas] [~~ɛ~~Adv] ([~~ɲ~~Nas]) [~~ɛ~~Adv]

Following is a list of all paired verbs currently

in use in Baglo in which the transitive (or double transitive) member of the pair is suffixed by **-LÀ** .

bɔbe	'to be hidden'	bɔbelà	'to hide s.t.'
bùbìè	'to be spoiled'	bùbìlè	'to spoil s.t.'
bɔcui	'to be burnt'	bɔculà	'to burn s.t.'
bɔfà	'to hang down'	bɔfàlà	'to hang s.t.'
bɔfè	'to blow'	bɔfèlà	'to make s.o. blow'
bujie	'to be red'	bujelè	'to redden'
bɔkùì	'to be dry'	bɔkùlà	'to dry s.t.'
bɔkpe	'to be late'	bɔkpeà	'to delay'
bɔma	'to be dented'	bɔmanà	'to squash'
bùnè	'to be long'	bùnènè	'to lengthen'
bɔni	'to drink'	bɔninà	'to make s.o. drink'
buni	'to be clean, extinguished'	buninè	'to clean, extinguish'
bɔɲwù	'to be dirty'	bɔɲwunà	'to make s.t. dirty'
bùnyè	'to stand'	bùnyènè	'to make s.o. stand'
bɔnyi	'to sink'	bɔnyinà	'to sink s.t.'
bɔnyì	'to be adulterated'	bɔnyìnà	'to adulterate s.t.'
bɔsìà	'to follow'	bɔsìàlà	'to send after'

bɔta	'to rise'	bɔtalà	'to raise'
bɔtià	'to learn'	bɔtinà	'to teach'
buti	'to carry'	butilè	'to help s.o. carry'
bɔtɔ	'to go ahead'	bɔtɔlɔ	'to send ahead'
bɔvià	'to cross s.t.'	bɔviàlà	'to bring s.o. across s.t.'
bɔyì	'to be lost'	bɔyilà	'to lose'
bɔyià	'to be afraid'	bɔyilà	'to frighten'
bùyù	'to be low'	bùyùlè	'to lower'
bɔlè	'to sit'	bɔlèlè	'to settle'

There are four verbs on this list which especially stand out: bujelè 'to redden', bɔsiàlà 'to send after', bɔtinà 'to teach', and bɔviàlà 'to bring s.o. across s.t.' bujelè stands out because for some reason, unknown to me, the vowel of the intransitive form has been lost; the other three stand out because they seem to form triplets alongside the respective verb roots which can occur without suffixes:

bɔti 'to know' ~ bɔtià 'to learn' ~ bɔtinà 'to teach'

b̀̀sì 'to be from' ~ b̀̀sià 'to follow'
 ~ b̀̀siàlà 'to send after'

b̀̀vi 'to be across from s.t.' ~

(m̀̀nà ɔ̀tɔ̀ ɔ̀vì ketu.

'My house is across the river.')

b̀̀vià 'to cross s.t.' ~

(lévià ketu.

'I crossed the river.')

b̀̀viàlà 'to bring s.o. across s.t.'

(lévià m̀̀nà èse ketu.

'I brought my goat across the river.')

In addition, it may be that the three verbs b̀̀cùε 'to forge (metal)', b̀̀culà 'to burn s.t.', and b̀̀cui 'to be burnt' form a triplet. At first blush, one is led to infer that historically the suffix -A may have been some sort of inchoative (which might help to explain why it was retained in the causatives formed with -LÀ), but as yet there is insufficient data to support this.

Verb Paradigms

The Affirmative Simple Past. The Affirmative Simple Past is the affirmative verb tense most frequently used to refer to events that have already occurred; it carries no implication of the duration of the event in question and can be defined operationally as that affirmative verb tense which most frequently occurs in the frame

_____ kàmàdì.
' _____ yesterday.'

Dialectally, there are some tone differences in the formation of the Affirmative Simple Past. In the Baglo dialect, the Affirmative Simple Past is formed as follows: the Verbal Concord marker occurs on a High tone, while all the syllables of the Verb Stem become Low. The Verbal Concord marker harmonizes with the Verb Stem, and the Verbal Concord marker for the first person singular is LE- .

T28 SD: VConc + PAS + VSt

SC: VConc + VSt

$$\begin{bmatrix} \sim Adv \\ +HiTo \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \sim Adv \\ +LoTo \end{bmatrix} *$$

(An asterisk following a feature denotes iteration; in the above rule, for example, it indicates that all tones within the Verb Stem are Low, regardless of the total number of tones there are.)

T29 1 + Sing + PAS =====) LÉ-

It will be noticed that the effect of these rules is to make the Affirmative Simple Past tenses of both Mid-tone and Low-tone verbs identical and, therefore, ambiguous in suitable contexts: in the Baglo dialect, the sentence lénwà kàmàdì , for example, means either 'I cooked yesterday' or 'I harvested yesterday.'

In general, the paradigms for the verbs bɔdu 'to kill', bɔ̀dù 'to bite', bufwi 'to spit', bùfwì 'to be sick', and bɔtinà 'to teach' will be used as examples. Overleaf are sample paradigms for the Affirmative Simple Past tense.

lédù

ádù

ódù

bódù

bédù

bádù

lédù

kádù

kódù

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

killed; bit

lífwi

éfwì

úfwì

búfwì

bífwi

bэфwì

lífwi

kэфwì

kúfwì

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

spat; were
sick

létìnà	I	}	taught
átìnà	You, A-		
ótìnà	He, O-		
bótìnà	We, N, BO-		
bétìnà	You		
bátìnà	They, BA-		
létìnà	LE-		
kátìnà	KA-		
kótìnà	KO-		

The Affirmative Past Progressive. Like the Affirmative Simple Past, the Affirmative Past Progressive is used to refer to events which have already occurred; unlike the Affirmative Simple Past, however, the Affirmative Past Progressive asserts that the past action has effects continuing til some subsequent time, usually the present. The Affirmative Past Progressive can be defined operationally as occurring in both the frames

_____ ðfayĩ.
' _____ now.'

and

_____ asà nà líbò.

_____ before that I+PAS+come

'_____ before I came.',

although the Affirmative Past Progressive can not occur in the frame

_____ kàmàdì.

'_____ yesterday.'

I have noticed no dialectal difference in the formation of the Affirmative Past Progressive, which is formed as follows: the Verbal Concord marker occurs on a High tone, as for the Affirmative Simple Past. The Progressive marker, which is an infix vowel which copies all the features other than tone of the vowel of the Verbal Concord marker, immediately preceding it, as for the Affirmative Present Progressive, takes the inherent tone of the first syllable of the verb stem, and the inherent tone of the first syllable of the verb stem is spread over the rest of the verb stem. As for the Affirmative Simple Past, the concord form for the first person singular is LE- . Vowel harmony applies throughout.

T30

SD: VConc + PAS + PROG + VSt

SC: (C) V + V + C(C) V (X)*

\sim Adv ϕ High γ Back $+HiTo$	\sim Adv ϕ High γ Back $\int LoTo$	$[\sim Adv]$ $[\sim Adv]$ $[\int LoTo]$ $\{\int LoTo\}$
---	---	--

The following paradigms will exemplify the Affirmative Past Progressive tense:

<u>bɔdu</u>	<u>'to kill'</u>	
léɛdu	I	} have killed
áadu	You, A-	
ɔɔdu	He, O-	
bɔɔdu	We, N, BO-	
béɛdu	You	
báadu	They, BA	
léɛdu	LE-	
káadu	KA-	
kɔɔdu	KO-	

bɔ̀dɔ̀'to bite'

lɛ̀ɛ̀dù

I

áàdù

You, A-

ɔ̀dù

He, O-

bɔ̀dù

We, N, BO-

bɛ̀ɛ̀dù

You

báàdù

They, BA-

lɛ̀ɛ̀dù

LE-

káàdù

KA-

kɔ̀dù

KO-

have bitten

bɔ̀fwi'to spit'

líifwi

I

éefwi

You, A-

úufwi

He, O-

búufwi

We, N, BO-

bíifwi

You

béefwi

They, BA-

líifwi

LE-

kéefwi

KA-

kúufwi

KO-

have spit

bùfwì'to be sick'

líífwì

I

éèfwì

You, A-

úùfwì

He, O-

búùfwì

We, N, BO-

bíífwì

You

béèfwì

They

líífwì

LE-

kéèfwì

KA-

kúùfwì

KO-

have been sick

bɔ́tina'to teach'

léɛtina

I

áatina

You, A-

ɔ́tina

He, O-

bɔ́tina

We, N, BO-

béɛtina

You

báatina

They, BA-

léɛtina

LE-

káatina

KA-

kɔ́tina

KO-

have taught

The Affirmative Simple Present. There are only about three dozen verbs, mostly either verbs of state or verbs describing one's physical position, which can be used in the Affirmative Simple Present, that is, which can be used without an accompanying Progressive marker. The following list includes all those Verbs of State which I have so far encountered; significantly missing from this list are most of the verbs of mental activity or of sensation, which generally occur in the present in Buem only in the present progressive.

Verbs of State with [-Advanced] Harmony:

hca	'I am alive; I am at ____'
nda	'I am holding, grasping'
ndi	'I am a ____'
hɗla	'I am good!'
hfa	'I am squatting'
hke	'I am concerned in, involved in'
hkwɛni	'I am carrying on my back'
hkpe	'I am waiting, am in behind'
hle	'I am kneeling'

̀mma	'I am resting on ____'
̀nsia	'I am following'
̀nsɔ	'I am repeating, againing, alsoing'
̀nte	'I am lying down'
ntalè	'I am untilling (time)'
nti/nji	'I know'
̀ntɔ	'I am in front'
ndia	'I am sufficient'

Verbs of State with [+Advanced] Harmony:

̀mbi	'I am wearing'
̀mbo	'I have'
̀ngbo	'I am leaning against ____'
̀keli	'I am running, moving around'
̀nje	'I have hanging from my shoulder'
nli	'I am sitting'
nnye	'I am standing'
nse	'I am <u>(Adjective)</u> '
ntedù	'I go as far as ____'
nti	'I am carrying, taking, marrying'
ntulò	'I surpass'

The Affirmative Simple Present is formed as follows: the final tone of the verb is Mid, and the penultimate syllable and, where present, prepenultimate syllable of the verb have the same tone as the inherent tone of the first syllable of the Verb Stem; vowel harmony applies throughout.

T31 SD: VConc + PRES + VSt
C V ((C) V)
[LoTo]

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{SC:} & \text{VConc} & + & \text{VSt} \\
 & & & \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \quad (\text{V} \quad \text{C}) \quad \text{V} \\ \text{[} \text{Adv} \text{]} \quad \text{[} \text{Adv} \text{]} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Adv} \\ \text{-HiTo} \\ \text{-LoTo} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{[} \text{LoTo} \text{]} \quad \text{[} \text{LoTo} \text{]} \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

The concordial form for the first person singular is a syllabic nasal N- , homorganic with the following consonant.

T32 1 + Singular ====) N- / PRES+ VSt

The following paradigms, for the verbs bɔti 'to know', bɔ̀bò 'to have', bɔ̀dia 'to be sufficient', and bɔ̀dìa 'to be good', will illustrate the Affirmative Simple Present.

bɔti

nji

aji

ɔji

bɔji

beji

baji

leji

kaji

kɔji

'to know'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

know

bùbò

mbo

èbo

ùbo

bùbo

bìbo

bèbo

lìbo

kèbo

kùbo

'to have'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

have

bɔdia

ndia

adia

ɔdia

bɔdia

bɛdia

badia

lɛdia

kadia

kɔdia

'to be sufficient'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

suffice

bɔ̀dia

nɔ̀dia

aɔ̀dia

ɔ̀dia

bɔ̀dia

bɛ̀dia

baɔ̀dia

lɛ̀dia

kaɔ̀dia

kɔ̀dia

'to be good'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

are good

There are three verbs which are exceptions to the tonal section of the preceding rules, however; the final tones of the verbs *bɔtalɛ* 'to until', *butedu* 'to until', and *butulɔ* 'to surpass' are all Low in the Affirmative Simple Present. In the case of the first two, the reason may be that these may actually be forms of the verbs *bɔlɛ* 'to sit, be well' and *budu* 'to arrive', both marked with the egressive marker -TA-; no explanation comes to mind immediately for *butulɔ* other than that -lɔ is a suffix.

It should be noted that there are a number of verbs among the thirty which can occur in the Affirmative Simple Present which can also occur in the Affirmative Present Progressive, depending on whether the action involved is considered as being momentary or habitual: if the action is considered as being essentially momentary, i.e., if a frame like

_____ ɔfayɪ.
' _____ now.'

is appropriate, then the simple present must be used:

nda kɔdi ɔfayɪ. 'I'm holding a cloth now.'

If the action is considered as being essentially habitual, however, i.e., if a frame like

_____ uwi biala.

'_____ all the time.'

is appropriate, then the present progressive must be used:

mòbda kɔdi uwi biala. 'I always hold a cloth.'

The Affirmative Present Progressive. Most verbs can occur in the present only when they are marked with the Progressive marker; this applies whether the action of the verb is considered as being momentary or whether it is considered as being habitual. The Affirmative Present Progressive is formed as follows: the tone of the concordial prefix is Low, the Progressive marker is an infixed vowel which copies all the features other than tone of the vowel, immediately preceding it, of the concordial marker and which has a tone Mid or Low opposite the inherent tone of the final syllable of the Verb Stem, and the Verb Stem re-

tains its inherent tone. Vowel harmony applies throughout.

T33

SD: VConc + PRES + PROG + VSt

SC: (C) V + V + (X)* (C) V

\swarrow Adv ϕ High γ Back +LoTo	\swarrow Adv ϕ High γ Back - \swarrow LoTo	\swarrow Adv	\swarrow Adv
			\swarrow LoTo

The concord form for the first person singular person is MO- .

T34 1 + Singular ====) MO- / ____ PRES + PROG + VSt

The following paradigms will exemplify the Affirmative Present Progressive tense.

bɔ̌du

'to kill'

mɔ̌ɔ̌du

I

ààdu

You, A-

ɔ̌ɔ̌du

He, O-

bɔ̌ɔ̌du

We, N, BO-

bèèdu

You

bààdu

They, BA-

lèèdu

LE-

kààdu

KA-

kɔ̌ɔ̌du

KO-

are killing'

bɔ̀dù'to bite'

mɔ̀dù

I

ààdù

You, A-

ɔ̀dù

He, O-

bɔ̀dù

We, N, BO-

bèɛdù

You

bàadù

They, BA-

lèɛdù

LE-

kàadù

KA-

kɔ̀dù

KO-

are biting

bufwi'to spit'

mùùfwi

I

èèfwi

You, A-

ùùfwi

He, O-

bùùfwi

We, N, BO-

bììfwi

You

bèèfwi

They, BA-

lììfwi

LE-

kèèfwi

KA-

kùùfwi

KO-

are spitting

bùfwì'to be sick'

mùufwì

I

èèfwì

You, A-

ùufwì

He, O-

bùufwì

We, N, BO-

bìifwì

You

bèefwì

They, BA-

lìifwì

LE-

kèefwì

KA-

kùufwì

KO-

are sick

b̀̀tinà'to teach'

m̀̀tinà

I

àatinà

You, A-

̀̀tinà

He, O-

b̀̀tinà

We, N, BO-

b̀̀etinà

You

b̀̀atinà

They

l̀̀etinà

LE-

k̀̀atinà

KA-

k̀̀tinà

KO-

are teaching

The Affirmative Simple Subjunctive. In a main clause, the Subjunctive is used to express the desire that an event occur, without necessarily implying that the event actually will occur.

fùlà lɛga kadikò kèbo.

thy law "eating"-place KA+SUBJ+come

'Thy Kingdom come.'

The Subjunctive is used much more frequently, however, following certain verbs of mental activity or which express necessity, desirability, etc.

mɔ̀bò mɔ̀di lìtiyà lèlèmi lɛdi.

1s+PRES+try 1s+SUBJ+learn Lɛlɛmi language

'I'm trying to learn the Lɛlɛmi language.'

yàà òblà kutu.

IMP+let 3s+SUBJ+make soup

'Let her cook soup.'

òhìà ka bàdù òkwadu.

3s+PRES+be-important that 3p+SUBJ+kill bush-cow

'It's important that they kill a bush-cow.'

mòyɔ̀ ka èbo.

1s+PRES+want that 2s+SUBJ+come

'I want you to come.'

The Affirmative Simple Subjunctive is formed as follows: the verbal concordial marker is on a Low tone. If the Verb Stem is monosyllabic, then its tone Low or Mid opposite to its inherent tone; if the Verb Stem is polysyllabic, then it seems that it retains its inherent tone. Vowel harmony applies throughout.

T35	SD:	VConc	+	SUBJ	+	C(C)	V	
	SC:	VConc	+	C(C)	V			[↘LoTo]
		[\emptyset Adv +LoTo]				[\emptyset Adv -↘LoTo]		
T36	SD:	VConc	+	SUBJ	+	C(C)	V X*	
	SC:	VConc	+	C(C)	V X*			
		[↘Adv +LoTo]				[↘Adv]		

The verbal concordial marker for the first person singular is LÈ- .

T37 1 + Singular =====) LÈ- / ____ SUBJ

The paradigms overleaf will illustrate the Affirmative Simple Subjunctive.

bɔ̌du'to kill'

lɛ̌dù

I

àdù

You, A-

ɔ̌dù

He, O-

bɔ̌dù

We, N, BO-

bɛ̌dù

You

bàdù

They, BA-

lɛ̌dù

LE-

kàdù

KA-

kɔ̌dù

KO-

should kill

bɔ̌dù'to bite'

lɛ̌du

I

àdu

You, A-

ɔ̌du

He, O-

bɔ̌du

We, N, BO-

bɛ̌du

You

bàdu

They, BA-

lɛ̌du

LE-

kàdu

KA-

kɔ̌du

KO-

should bite

bufwi'to spit'

lifwi

I

èfwi

You, A-

ùfwi

He, O-

bùfwi

We, N, BO-

bìfwi

You

bèfwi

They, BA-

lifwi

LE-

kèfwi

KA-

kùfwi

KO-

should spit

bùfwi'to be sick'

lifwi

I

èfwi

You, A-

ùfwi

He, O-

bùfwi

We, N, BO-

bìfwi

You

bèfwi

They, BA-

lifwi

LE-

kèfwi

KA-

kùfwi

KO-

should be sick

<u>bɔtinà</u>	<u>'to teach'</u>	
lètina	I	} should teach
àtinà	You, A-	
òtinà	He, O-	
bòtinà	We, N, BO-	
bètina	You	
bàtinà	They, BA-	
lètina	LE-	
kàtinà	KA-	
kòtinà	KO-	

The Affirmative Simple Future. The Affirmative Simple Future implies only that the event described will occur at sometime in the future, without any implication either of certainty or of motion. There are several forms used to express the Affirmative Simple Future; one of these forms seems to be rather more formal than the others, which can vary freely, even within a single idiolect. The more formal variants can be exemplified (in the third person singular) by:

ɔ̌lubò bɔ̌du. } ɔ̌dubò bɔ̌du. }	'He will kill.'
ɔ̌lubò bɔ̌dù. } ɔ̌dubò bɔ̌dù. }	'He will bite.'
ɔ̌lubò bùfwi. } ɔ̌dubò bùfwi. }	'He will spit.'
ɔ̌lubò bùfwì. } ɔ̌dubò bùfwì. }	'He will be sick.'
ɔ̌lubò bɔ̌tinà. } ɔ̌dubò bɔ̌tinà. }	'He will teach.'

where the first morpheme of the first words, ɔ̌- , is the third person singular prefix, the second morpheme, -lu- or -du- , is the marker for the Affirmative Simple Future, and the final morpheme of the first words, -bò , is presumably the Verb Stem for the verb bùbò 'to come'; the second words are infinitives. The origin of the morpheme -lu- or -du- is conjectural; Höftmann (1971:51n) suggests that it is derived (diachronically) from the Verb Stem -du 'reach, arrive'; however, synchronically, the verb budu has the wrong vowel harmony pattern. The alternation between /l/ and

/d/ is presumably an archaic holdover, somewhat parallel to the alternation between /l/ and /d/ in certain morphemes in the Bala dialect of Likpe (sɛkpɛlɛ), which is quite closely related.

The informal variants are essentially reductions of the formal variants just given; for reasons of economy, only the reduced forms of ɔ̌lubò bɔ̌dù and ɔ̌lubò bùfwì will be given. In order of presumed reduction, these are

ɔ̌lubɔ̌dù	}	'He will bite.'
ɔ̌luɔ̌dù		
ɔ̌lɔ̌dù		
ɔ̌lubùfwì	}	'He will be sick.'
ɔ̌luùfwì		

with the loss first of the -bò of ɔ̌lubò, followed by the loss of the /b/ of the infinitival prefix, followed, in the case of ɔ̌lɔ̌dù, by the regressive assimilation of the vowel. It shall have been noticed that whether the Verb Stem has the [+Advanced] vowel harmony or the [-Advanced] vowel harmony, the verbal concordial prefix has the [-Advanced] harmony. The rule overleaf will describe the formation of the second of the reduced

forms of the Affirmative Simple Future.

T38	SD:	VConc	+	FUT	+	VSt
	SC:	VConc	+	LÚŎ	+	VSt
		$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Adv} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$		$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \end{bmatrix}$		$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \end{bmatrix}$

The concordial form for the first person singular is n- ,
to which the /l/ of -LÚŎ- assimilates.

T39 1 + Singular + LÚŎ =====) ñnuŎ

The following paradigms will illustrate this informal variant of the Affirmative Simple Future.

<u>bɔdu</u>	<u>'to kill'</u>	
ñnuɔdu	I	} will kill
àluɔdu	You, A-	
ɔluɔdu	He, O-	
bɔluɔdu	We, N, BO-	
bɛluɔdu	You	
bàluɔdu	They, BA-	
lɛluɔdu	LE-	
kàluɔdu	KA-	
kɔluɔdu	KO-	

bɔ̀dù

ɲnuɔ̀dù
 àluɔ̀dù
 ɔ̀luɔ̀dù
 bɔ̀luɔ̀dù
 bèluɔ̀dù
 bàluɔ̀dù
 lèluɔ̀dù
 kàluɔ̀dù
 kɔ̀luɔ̀dù

'to bite'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

will bite

bufwi

ɲnuùfwi
 àluùfwi
 ɔ̀luùfwi
 bɔ̀luùfwi
 bèluùfwi
 bàluùfwi
 lèluùfwi
 kàluùfwi
 kɔ̀luùfwi

'to spit'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

will spit

bùfwì

ònuùfwì
 àluùfwì
 òluùfwì
 bòluùfwì
 bèluùfwì
 bàluùfwì
 lèluùfwì
 kàluùfwì
 kòluùfwì

'to be sick'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

} will be sick

bòtinà

ònuòtinà
 àluòtinà
 òluòtinà
 bòluòtinà
 bèluòtinà
 bàluòtinà
 lèluòtinà
 kàluòtinà
 kòluòtinà

'to teach'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

} will teach

Verbs marked for Aspect. There is a five term Aspect system, with the terms:

- i. Negation (NEG),
- ii. Certainty (CERT),
- iii. Customary action (CUST),
- iv. Motion away from the speaker (GO), and
- v. Motion towards the speaker (COME).

Some of these Aspects are mutually exclusive, and two can appear only in certain tenses. In addition, the aspect of Negation has three different allomorphs, depending on tense.

$$P38 \quad ASP \text{ -----}) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (NEG) (CUST/PAS \text{ ---}) \\ (CERT/FUT \text{ ---}) \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (GO) \\ (COME) \end{array} \right\}$$

All Aspect markers have in common the fact that they alter the vowel harmony patterning of the Verb Prefix, as discussed on pp 66 ff ; to recapitulate, when followed by an Aspect marker, Verbal Prefixes with Non-Low vowels (i.e., O-, LE- , BO- , and KO-) must occur in their [+Advanced] forms; the normal vowel harmony rules apply, however, when the Verbal Prefix contains a Non-High vowel (i.e., A- , BA- , and KA-).

Certainty. As stated, the aspect of Certainty can occur only with the Future; in main clauses, it is used primarily to indicate that the speaker feels that an event will inevitably take place.

ùàti nà nààyɔ̀ ɲwà kàlàla.

3s+FUT+CERT+know that 1s+PRES+NEG+like his mischief

'He'll certainly know that I don't like his mischief.'

àtiblùku ùàte bècwiri fwiì.

God 3s+FUT+CERT+judge men all

'God will judge all men.'

bèkpidi bàacà kɔ̀cà.

evil-doers 3p+FUT+CERT+catch shame

'The wicked will certainly be shamed.'

biesè ɔ̀ma ɔ̀mwì.

1p+FUT+CERT+go town today

'We will definitely go home today.'

The Certainty aspect also occurs quite frequently in future conditionals.

sì bièye animì ni, àkɔ̀sùà ɔ̀luɔ̀ɲwà.

if 1p+FUT+CERT+buy rice, Akosuah 3s+FUT+cook

'If we buy rice, Akosuah will cook it.'

The Future Certain is formed as follows: the Verbal Concordial Prefix and the Certainty marker -A- have tones Mid or Low opposite to the inherent tone of the first syllable of the Verb Stem; the Verb Stem retains its inherent tone. The Concordial Prefix harmonizes according to the rules of reduced vowel harmony, while the Certainty marker harmonizes with the Verb Stem.

T40	SD:	VConc	+	FUT	+	CERT	+	VSt
	SC:	VConc	+	-A-	+	C(C)	V	X*
		$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ \text{Low} \\ \text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$		$\begin{bmatrix} \beta \text{Adv} \\ \text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$		$\begin{bmatrix} \rho \text{Adv} \\ \text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$		

The Verbal Concordial prefix for the first person singular is m- .

T41 1 + Singular =====) m- / _____ FUT + CERT

The paradigms overleaf will exemplify the Future Certain.

<u>bɔ̌du</u>	<u>'to kill'</u>	
màdu	I	} shall kill
ààdu	You, A-	
ùàdu	He, O-	
bùàdu	We, N, BO-	
biàdu	You	
bààdu	They, BA-	
liàdu	LE-	
kààdu	KA-	
kùàdu	KO-	

<u>bɔ̌dù</u>	<u>'to bite'</u>	
madù	I	} shall bite
aadù	You, A-	
uadù	He, O-	
buadù	We, N, BO-	
biadù	You	
baadù	They, BA-	
liadù	LE-	
kaadù	KA-	
kuadù	KO-	

bufwi

mèfwì

èèfwì

ùèfwì

bùèfwì

bièfwì

bèèfwì

lièfwì

kèèfwì

kùèfwì

'to spit'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

} shall spit

bùfwì

mefwì

eefwì

uefwì

buefwì

biefwì

beefwì

liefwì

keefwì

kùefwì

'to be sick'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

} shall sicken

<u>bɔtinà</u>	<u>'to teach'</u>	
màtinà	I	} shall teach
ààtinà	You, A-	
ùàtinà	He, O-	
bùàtinà	We, N, BO-	
biàtinà	You	
bààtinà	They, BA-	
liàtinà	LE-	
kààtinà	KA-	
kùàtinà	KO-	

Customary action. The aspect of Customary action can occur only with the Past or in certain serial verbal constructions; the aspect of Customary action is marked by -'TAA- and can be described by the following rule:

T42	SD:	VConc	+	PAS	+	CUST	+	VSt	
	SC:	VConc	+	-TA	A =	+	C(C)	V	X*
		[Adv]		[Adv]	[Adv]		[Adv]		
		[Low]		[LoTo]	[LoTo]		[LoTo]		
		[HiTo]		[LoTo]	[LoTo]		[LoTo]		

in which the Verbal Concordial Prefix is on a High tone, the first syllable of the Customary action infix is on a Low tone, and the second syllable of the Customary action infix is on the same tone as the first syllable of the Verb Stem. The first person singular concord form is \acute{n} - .

T43 1 + Singular =====) \acute{n} - / _____ PAS + CUST

The following paradigms will illustrate the Customary Past.

bɔ̃du

'to kill'

\acute{n} tàadu

I

\acute{a} tàadu

You, A-

\acute{u} tàadu

He, O-

bútàadu

We, N, BO-

bítàadu

You

bátàadu

They, BA-

lítàadu

LE-

kátàadu

KA-

kútàadu

KO-

used to kill

bùfwì

ntèèfwì

étèèfwì

útèèfwì

bútèèfwì

bítèèfwì

bétèèfwì

lítèèfwì

kétèèfwì

kútèèfwì

'to be sick'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

used to be sick

bàtinà

ntàatinà

átàatinà

útàatinà

bútàatinà

bítàatinà

bátàatinà

lítàatinà

kátàatinà

kútàatinà

'to teach'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

used to teach

Motion away from the speaker. Apart from the aspect of Negation, the most commonly used aspect marker is that of motion away from speaker, - TÁ- , which can be used with virtually any verb and which asserts that the agent of the action of the verb will move away from the speaker in the course of performing the action. When the verb containing this "Go-itive" is not marked by any other aspect marker, all tense distinctions other than that of the Imperative and, for the first person singular, the Subjunctive, fall together. The Affirmative Go-itive is formed as follows: the Verbal Concordial Prefix is on a Low tone and is subject to the reduced vowel harmony. The infixed syllable, TÁ , is on a High tone and harmonizes with the Verb Stem, which retains its inherent tone.

T44 SD: VConc + TM + GO + VSt

SC: VConc + TÁ + VSt

$\left[\begin{array}{l} -\text{Adv} \\ -\text{Low} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{pAdv} \\ +\text{HiTo} \end{array} \right]$
--	---

The first person singular concordial prefix is lî- before the Subjunctive; otherwise, it is ñ- .

T45


1 + Sing

=====)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{li-} / \text{---} \text{ SUBJ} + \text{GO} \\ \text{h-} / \text{---} \text{ PAS, PRES, FUT} + \text{GO} \end{array} \right.$$


My discussion of the Negative will include a discussion of the Negative of the motion markers; because of their relatively rare occurrence, I can make no claims as to the behavior of the motion markers with aspect markers other than the Negative.


The following paradigms will exemplify the Affirmative Goitive.

<u>bɔdu</u>	<u>'to kill'</u>	
hɛ́tádu	I	
àtádu	You, A-	
ùtádu	He, O-	
bùtádu	We, N, BO-	
bìtádu	You	
bàtádu	They, BA-	
lìtádu	LE-	
kàtádu	KA-	
kùtádu	KO-	

are going (away)

to kill

<u>b̀̀d̀̀d̀̀</u>	<u>'to bite'</u>	
̀̀tád̀̀	I	
àtád̀̀	You, A-	
ùtád̀̀	He, O-	
b̀̀tád̀̀	We, N, BO-	
b̀̀tád̀̀	You	
b̀̀tád̀̀	They, BA-	
l̀̀tád̀̀	LE-	
k̀̀tád̀̀	KA-	
k̀̀tád̀̀	KO-	
		are going (away) to bite

<u>bufwi</u>	<u>'to spit'</u>	
̀̀téfwì	I	
ètéfwì	You, A-	
ùtéfwì	He, O-	
b̀̀téfwì	We, N, BO-	
b̀̀téfwì	You	
b̀̀téfwì	They, BA-	
l̀̀téfwì	LE-	
k̀̀téfwì	KA-	
k̀̀téfwì	KO-	
		are going (away) to spit

bùfwì

òtéfwì
 ètéfwì
 ùtéfwì
 bùtéfwì
 bìtéfwì
 bètéfwì
 lùtéfwì
 kètéfwì
 kùtéfwì

'to be sick'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

are going (away)
 to be sick

bùtinà

òtátinà
 àtátinà
 ùtátinà
 bùtátinà
 bìtátinà
 bàtátinà
 lùtátinà
 kàtátinà
 kùtátinà

'to teach'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

are going (away)
 to teach

Motion towards the speaker. The other motion marker, -BA¹-, is used to denote either motion towards the speaker or lack of motion on the part of the agent of the action of the verb. In all other respects, save one, this "Come-itive" functions like the "Go-itive"; the respect in which it differs is that the "Come-itive" does not co-occur with the Imperative.

The Affirmative Come-itive is formed as follows: the Verbal Concordial Prefix is on a Low tone and is subject to the reduced vowel harmony; the infixed syllable, -BA¹-, is on a Mid tone and harmonizes with the Verb Stem, which retains its inherent tones.

T46	SD:	VConc	+	TM	+	COME	+	VSt
	SC:	VConc	+	BA	+	VSt		
		[-Adv -Low +LoTo]		[eAdv -HiTo -LoTo]		[eAdv]		

The concordial prefix for the first person singular is li- for the Subjunctive Come-itive and m̃- for other tenses. Optionally, the /b/ of the infix assimilates to the m̃-.

T47		{	lì-	/	_____	SUBJ + COME
1 + Sing =====)		{	m̃-	/	_____	{PAS, PRES, FUT}
						+ COME
T48	m̃ba	opt =====)	m̃ma			

The Affirmative Come-itive is exemplified by the following paradigms.

<u>bɔ̃du</u>	<u>'to kill'</u>	
m̃madu	I	} are coming to kill
àbadu	You, A-	
ùbadu	He, O-	
bùbadu	We, N, BO-	
bìbadu	You	
bàbadu	They, BA-	
lìbadu	LE-	
kàbadu	KA-	
kùbadu	KO-	

bèdù

ìmadù
 àbadù
 ùbadù
 bùbadù
 bìbadù
 bàbadù
 lìbadù
 kàbadù
 kùbadù

'to bite'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

are coming
 to bite

bufwi

ìmefwi
 èbefwi
 ùbefwi
 bùbefwi
 bìbefwi
 bèbefwi
 lìbefwi
 kèbefwi
 kùbefwi

'to spit'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

are coming
 to spit

bùfwì

m̃mefwì
 èbefwì
 ùbefwì
 bùbefwì
 bìbefwì
 bèbefwì
 l̃ibefwì
 k̃ebefwì
 kùbefwì

'to be sick'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

are coming
 to be sick

b̃tinà

m̃matinà
 àbatinà
 ùbatinà
 bùbatinà
 bìbatinà
 bàbatinà
 l̃ibatinà
 k̃àbatinà
 kùbatinà

'to teach'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

are coming
 to teach

Negation. There are three allomorphs, conditioned by tense, which are used to signal the negation of a verb:

- i. $\text{-}\dot{\text{V}}\text{-}$, which is used to negate the Present tense of verbs which have no Present Progressive form,
- ii. -LA- , which is used to negate the Future tense of all verbs and the Present tense of verbs which do have a Present Progressive form, and
- iii. -TA- , which is used to negate every other tense (i.e., Past, Subjunctive, and Imperative).

P39	NEG -----)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-}\dot{\text{V}}\text{-} \quad / \quad \text{PRES} \quad \text{---} \quad [+\text{V}, \text{-PRES} + \text{PROG} \quad \text{---}] \\ \text{-LA-} \quad / \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{FUT} \quad \text{---} \\ \text{PRES} \quad \text{---} \quad [+\text{V}, \text{-PRES} \quad \text{---}] \end{array} \right. \\ \text{-TA-} \end{array} \right.$
-----	------------	---

Both -TA- and -LA- entail that the Verbal Concordial Prefix show the reduced vowel harmony already discussed; the full vowel harmony system, however, applies when the verb is negated by $\text{-}\dot{\text{V}}\text{-}$.

The Negative Past. The Negative Past is the negative equivalent of both the Affirmative Simple Past and the Affirmative Past Progressive; however, if the speaker wishes to form an exact negative equivalent of the Affirmative Past Progressive, the Negative Past is often modified by the adverb tɔ 'yet'.

ɔ̀blà kutu. 'She made soup.'

útáblà kutu. 'She didn't make soup.'

ɔ̀bla kutu. 'She has made soup.'

útábla tɔ kutu. 'She hasn't made soup yet.'

The Negative Past is formed as follows: both the prefix and the -TA- infix are on High tones, while the Verb Stem retains its inherent tones. As just stated, the prefix is subject to reduced harmony, and the verbal concordial prefix for the first person singular is ń- .

T49 SD: VConc + PAS + TA + VSt

SC: VConc + [ɛAdv] [ɛAdv]

[-Adv] [ɛAdv] [ɛAdv]
[-Low]
[+HiTo] [+HiTo]

T50 1 + Singular =====) ń- / ____ PAS + NEG + VSt

bɔdu

ntádu
 átádu
 útádu
 bútađu
 bítađu
 bátađu
 lítađu
 kátađu
 kútađu

'to kill'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

didn't kill,
 haven't killed

bɔdù

ntádù
 átádù
 útádù
 bútađu
 bítađu
 bátađu
 lítađu
 kátađu
 kútađu

'to bite'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

didn't bite,
 haven't bitten

bufwi

ntéfwì
 étéfwì
 útéfwì
 bútéfwì
 bítéfwì
 bétéfwì
 lítéfwì
 kétéfwì
 kútéfwì

'to spit'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

didn't spit,
 haven't spit

bùfwì

ntéfwì
 étéfwì
 útéfwì
 bútéfwì
 bítéfwì
 bétéfwì
 lítéfwì
 kétéfwì
 kútéfwì

'to be sick'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

weren't sick,
 haven't been
 sick

bɔ́tinà

ńtátinà

átátinà

útátinà

bútátinà

bítátinà

bátátinà

lítátinà

kátátinà

kútátinà

'to teach'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

didn't teach,
haven't taught

bɔ́cà

ńtácà

átácà

útácà

bútácà

bítácà

bátácà

lítácà

kátácà

kútácà

'to be (somewhere)'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

weren't, haven't
been at

Negative Present for verbs of state. The Present tense of verbs of state is negated by infixed a vowel on a Low tone which copies all the features of the vowel, immediately preceding it, of the verbal concordial prefix and by raising, if necessary, all tones of the Verb Stem to Mid. The appropriate verbal concordial prefix for the first person singular is LE^- .

T51

SD: VConc + PRES + NEG + [+V, -PRES + PROG —]

SC: (C) V + V + (C(C)) V *

$\begin{bmatrix} \neg \text{Adv} \\ \text{eHigh} \\ \text{yBack} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \neg \text{Adv} \\ \text{eHigh} \\ \text{yBack} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} \neg \text{Adv} \\ \neg \text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$
---	---	---

T52 1 + Sing ==>) LE^- / — PRES + NEG + [+V, -PRES + PROG —]

bɔti'to know'

lɛɛji

I

ààji

You, A-

ɔɔji

He, O-

bɔɔji

We, N, BO-

bɛɛji

You

bààji

They, BA-

lɛɛji

LE-

kààji

KA-

kɔɔji

KO-

don't know

bùbò'to have'

lìbo

I

èèbo

You, A-

ùùbo

He, O-

bùùbo

We, N, BO-

bìbo

You

bèèbo

They, BA-

lìbo

LE-

kèèbo

KA-

kùùbo

KO-

don't have

bɔdia

lɛɛdia

ààdia

ɔɔdia

bɔɔdia

bɛɛdia

bààdia

lɛɛdia

kààdia

kɔɔdia

'to be sufficient'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

are not sufficient

bɔdia

lɛɛdia

ààdia

ɔɔdia

bɔɔdia

bɛɛdia

bààdia

lɛɛdia

kààdia

kɔɔdia

'to be good'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

aren't good

The Negative Present for other verbs. The Negative Present for verbs other than verbs of state is formed as follows: the Verbal Concordial Prefix, which is subject to reduced vowel harmony, is on a Low tone. The Negative marker, -LA- , harmonizes with the Verb Stem and is on a Low or Mid tone opposite to the first tone of the Verb Stem. The Verb Stem retains its inherent tone.

T53	SD:	VConc	+	PRES	+	-LA-	+	[+V, -PRES]
	SC:	VConc	+	-LA-	+	C(C)	V	(X)*
		[Adv]		[Adv]		[Adv]		
		[Low]						
		[+LoTo]		[- LoTo]		[LoTo]		

When the Verbal Concordial Prefix refers to the first person singular, the concordial prefix is NA- and the /l/ of -LA- is deleted; the tone of the prefix is the same as that of the Negative marker.

T54	1 + Sing + PRES +	-LA-	====)	NAA-
		[LoTo]		[LoTo]

Overleaf are paradigms for the Negative Present.

bɔ̃du

nààdu
 àlàdu
 ùlàdu
 bùlàdu
 bìlàdu
 bàlàdu
 lîlàdu
 kàlàdu
 kùlàdu

'to kill'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

aren't killing,
 don't kill

bɔ̃dù

naadù
 àladù
 ùladù
 bùladù
 bìladù
 bàladù
 lîladù
 kàladù
 kùladù

'to bite'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

aren't biting,
 don't bite

bufwi

nèèfwi
 èlèfwi
 ùlèfwi
 bùlèfwi
 bìlèfwi
 bèlèfwi
 lîlèfwi
 kèlèfwi
 kùlèfwi

'to spit'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

aren't spitting,
 don't spit


bùfwì

neefwì
 èlefwì
 ùlefwì
 bùlefwì
 bìlefwì
 bèlefwì
 lîlefwì
 kèlefwì
 kùlefwì

'to be sick'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

aren't sick

<u>b-tinà</u>	<u>'to teach'</u>		
nààtinà	I		
àlàtinà	You, A-		
ùlàtinà	He, O-		
bùlàtinà	We, N, BO-		don't teach,
bìlàtinà	You		aren't teaching
bàlàtinà	They, BA-		
lìlàtinà	LE-		
kàlàtinà	KA-		
kùlàtinà	KO-		

The Negative Future. The Negative Future is formed in the same way for all verbs: the Verbal Concordial Prefix, which is subject to reduced vowel harmony, is on a Low tone. The Negative marker, -LA- , harmonizes with the Verb Stem and is on a Low tone if the inherent tone of the first syllable of the Verb Stem is Low, on a High tone if the inherent tone of the first syllable of the Verb Stem is Mid. The first syllable of the Verb Stem is on a Mid or Low tone opposite to its inherent tone;

the second syllable, if any, and subsequent syllable of the Verb Stem retain their inherent tone.

T55 SD: VConc + FUT + -LA- + C(C) V (X)*

SC: VConc + -LA- + C(C) V (X)*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ -\text{Low} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix} \quad \gamma \begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ +\text{HiTo} \\ -\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \gamma \text{LoTo} \\ \text{Adv} \\ -\gamma \text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$$

The Verbal Concordial Prefix for the first person singular is NĀ-; following NĀ-, the /l/ of -LA- is deleted; however, there is no alteration in the tone of the Verbal Concord Prefix, as there is for the Negative Present.

T56 1 + Sing + FUT + -LA- ====) NĀA

It will be noticed that the Negative Future of verbs with Low tone (inherently) is the same as the Negative Present of verbs with Mid tone (inherently) since the surface tone pattern of both is Low-Low-Mid; as far as I could determine, the ambiguity inherent in this can usually be resolved only by context.

Overleaf are paradigms for the Negative Future.

bɔ̌du

nàádù
 àládù
 ùládù
 bùládù
 bìládù
 bàládù
 lîládù
 kàládù
 kùládù

'to kill'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

won't kill

bɔ̌dù

nààdu
 àlàdu
 ùlàdu
 bùlàdu
 bìlàdu
 bàlàdu
 lîlàdu
 kàlàdu
 kùlàdu

'to bite'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

won't bite

bufwi

nèéfwì
 èléfwì
 ùléfwì
 bùléfwì
 bìléfwì
 bèléfwì
 lîléfwì
 kèléfwì
 kùléfwì

'to spit'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

won't spit

bùfwì

nèèfwì
 èlèfwì
 ùlèfwì
 bùlèfwì
 bìlèfwì
 bèlèfwì
 lîlèfwì
 kèlèfwì
 kùlèfwì

'to be sick'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

won't be sick

<u>bɔ́tɪnà</u>	<u>'to teach'</u>	
nàátɪnà	I	} won't teach
àlátɪnà	You, A-	
ùlátɪnà	He, O-	
bùlátɪnà	We, N, BO-	
bìlátɪnà	You	
bàlátɪnà	They, BA-	
lìlátɪnà	LE-	
kàlátɪnà	KA-	
kùlátɪnà	KO-	

The Negative Subjunctive. The Negative Subjunctive is formed as follows: the Verbal Concordial Prefix is subject to reduced vowel harmony, and the Negative marker -TA- harmonizes with the Verb Stem. All tones are Low.

T57 SD: VConc + SUBJ + -TA- + VSt

SC: VConc + -TA- + VSt

$\left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha \text{Adv} \\ -\text{Low} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{array} \right]$	$[\text{?Adv}]$	$[\text{?Adv}]$
	$[+\text{LoTo}]$	$[+\text{LoTo}]$

The concordial prefix for the first person singular is lì- , as for other Subjunctives.

The paradigms for both Mid tone and Low tone verbs are identical; ambiguities are resolved by context.

bɔ̌du 'to kill'

lɪtɔ̌dù

àtɔ̌dù

ùtɔ̌dù

bùtɔ̌dù

bìtɔ̌dù

bàtɔ̌dù

lɪtɔ̌dù

kàtɔ̌dù

kùtɔ̌dù

bɔ̌dù 'to bite'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

shouldn't kill,

shouldn't bite

bɔ̌fwi 'to spit'

lɪtɔ̌fwi

ètɔ̌fwi

ùtɔ̌fwi

bùtɔ̌fwi

bìtɔ̌fwi

bàtɔ̌fwi

lɪtɔ̌fwi

kètɔ̌fwi

kùtɔ̌fwi

bùfwi 'to be sick'

I

You, A-

He, O-

We, N, BO-

You

They, BA-

LE-

KA-

KO-

shouldn't spit,

shouldn't be sick

<u>bɔtɪnà</u>	<u>'to teach'</u>	
lɪtàtɪnà	I	} shouldn't teach
àtàtɪnà	You, A-	
ùtàtɪnà	He, O-	
bùtàtɪnà	We, N, BO-	
bìtàtɪnà	You	
bàtàtɪnà	They, BA-	
lìtàtɪnà	LE-	
kàtàtɪnà	KA-	
kùtàtɪnà	KO-	

Negation of verbs marked for other aspects. While it is possible for Negation to be combined with any of the other aspect markers, save that of Certainty, only the combination of Negation and one of the Motion markers occurs at all frequently, and even that primarily with respect to the Present/Future tenses. For this reason, I will limit my discussion of the negation of verbs marked for other aspects to the negation of verbs marked for motion; this is formed as follows: the Verbal Concordial Prefix

T59

SD: 1 + Sing + $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{PAST} \\ \{ \text{PRES} \} \\ \{ \text{FUT} \} \end{array} \right] + \text{NEG} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{GO} \\ \text{COME} \end{array} \right\}$

SQ:

$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{hTA} \\ \text{NA} \end{array} \right] + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{GO} \\ \text{COME} \end{array} \right\}$

Below are paradigms for the Negative Present Co-itive.

bɔdu'to kill'

nààtádù

I

àlàtádù

You, A-

ùlàtádù

He, O-

bùlàtádù

We, N, BO-

bìlàtádù

You

bàlàtádù

They, BA-

lìlàtádù

LE-

kàlàtádù

KA-

kùlàtádù

KO-

aren't going
(away) to kill

bɔ̀dù

nààtádu
 àlàtádu
 ùlàtádu
 bùlàtádu
 bìlàtádu
 bàlàtádu
 lilàtádu
 kàlàtádu
 kùlàtádu

'to bite'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

aren't going
 (away) to bite

bɔ̀fwɪ

nèètéfɔ̀wɪ
 èlètéfɔ̀wɪ
 ùlètéfɔ̀wɪ
 bùlètéfɔ̀wɪ
 bìlètéfɔ̀wɪ
 bèlètéfɔ̀wɪ
 lilàtáfɔ̀wɪ
 kèlètéfɔ̀wɪ
 kùlètéfɔ̀wɪ

'to spit'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

aren't going
 (away) to spit

bùfwl

nèètéfwi
 èlètéfwi
 ùlètéfwi
 bùlètéfwi
 bìlètéfwi
 bèlètéfwi
 lìlètéfwi
 kèlètéfwi
 kùlètéfwi

'to be sick'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

aren't going
 (away) to be
 sick

b-ṭinà

nààtátinà
 àlàtátinà
 ùlàtátinà
 bùlàtátinà
 bìlàtátinà
 bàlàtátinà
 lilàtátinà
 kàlàtátinà
 kùlàtátinà

'to teach'

I
 You, A-
 He, O-
 We, N, BO-
 You
 They, BA-
 LE-
 KA-
 KO-

aren't going
 (away) to teach

Imperatives. An imperative can be addressed either to one person or to more than one person; if it is addressed to only one person, then the Verbal Concordial Prefix is omitted (alternatively, is rewritten as \emptyset); if it is addressed to several people, however, the normal second person plural prefix, BE- , is used.

T60 2 + Sing =====) \emptyset / _____ IMP

So far, I have identified four types of imperative:

i. an Affirmative Simple Imperative, which carries no implication of motion.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
du	bèdu	Kill!
dù	bèdù	Bite!
fwi	bìfwi	Spit!
fwì	bìfwì	Be sick!
tina	bètina	Teach!
fḅ	bèfḅ	Wash!
fḅ	bèfḅ	Accept!
lɛmi	bèlɛmi	Open!

ii. an Affirmative Co-itive Imperative, which implies

that the action is to be performed at some distance from the speaker. (Note the reduced vowel harmony in the plural prefix.)

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
tàdu	bìtàdu	Go kill!
tàdù	bìtàdù	Go bite!
tèfwi	bìtèfwi	Go spit!
tèfwì	bìtèfwì	Go be sick!
tàtina	bìtàtina	Go teach!
tàfᵝ	bìtàfᵝ	Go wash!
tàfᵟ	bìtàfᵟ	Go accept!
tàlɛmi	bìtàlɛmi	Go open!

iii. a Negative Simple Imperative.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
tadu	bìtadu	Don't kill!
tadù	bìtadù	Don't bite!
tefwi	bìtefwi	Don't spit!
tefwì	bìtefwì	Don't be sick!
tatinà	bìtatinà	Don't teach!
tafᵝ	bìtafᵝ	Don't wash!
tafᵟ	bìtafᵟ	Don't accept!
talɛmi	bìtalɛmi	Don't open!

and

iv. a Negative Go-itive Imperative (which occurs, however, rather rarely).

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
tàtàdu	bitàtadu	Don't go kill!
tàtadù	bitàtadù	Don't go bite!
tètèfwi	bitètèfwi	Don't go spit!
tètèfwi	bitètèfwi	Don't go be sick!
tàtàtinà	bitàtatinà	Don't go teach!
tàtàf>	bitàtàf>	Don't go wash!
tàtàf>	bitàtàf>	Don't go accept!
tàtələmi	bitàtələmi	Don't go open!

These imperatives are formed as follows:

i. the Affirmative Simple Imperative. The concord prefix, if any, harmonizes with the Verb Stem and is on a Low tone. The first syllable of the Verb Stem retains its inherent tone; the second (and subsequent) syllables are on a Mid tone.

T61 SD: (BE-) + IMP + VSt

SC: (BE-) + C(C) V (X)*

[~Adv
+LoTo]

[~Adv] [~Adv
-LoTo]

ii. the Affirmative Go-itive Imperative. The concord prefix, if any, is [+Advanced] and on a Low tone (i.e., is b̀i-). The Go-itive marker -TA- harmonizes with the Verb Stem and is on a Low tone. The first syllable of the Verb Stem retains its inherent tone; the tone of other syllables is Mid.

T62 SD: (BE-) IMP + GO + VSt
 SC: (b̀i-) -TA- + C(C) V (X)*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ -\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$$

iii. the Negative Simple Imperative. The concord prefix, if any, is [+Advanced] and on a Low tone (i.e., is b̀i-). The Negative marker -TA- harmonizes with the Verb Stem and is on a Mid tone. The Verb Stem retains its inherent tone(s).

T63 SD: (BE-) IMP + NEG + VSt
 SC: (b̀i-) -TA- + VSt

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ -\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \end{bmatrix}$$

iv. the Negative Go-itive Imperative. The concord prefix, if any is [+Advanced] and on a Low tone (i.e., is b̀i-). Both the Negative marker -TA- and the

Go-itive marker, -TA- , harmonize with the Verb Stem and are on Low tones. The Verb Stem retains its inherent tone(s).

T64 SD: (BE-) IMP + NEG + GO + VSt

SC: (b1-) -TA- + -TA- + VSt
 $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Adv} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Adv} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{array} \right] \left[\text{Adv} \right]$

Relative Verb Forms

In addition to their use in "same-subject" relative clauses (see pp 202 ff), Relative Verb Forms are used to express emphasis, generalizations, historical facts, or statements of habitual or customary action. Relative Verb Forms are found in Past, Present, or Future tenses; they have both affirmative and negative forms and can be marked for Motion away. This is illustrated as follows:

i. Statements referring to eternal truths or to events in Present time.

bàasè mùveì nà katɔ.

birds REL+PRES+fly in sky

'Birds fly in the sky.'

bàjìlì nēeveì.

monkeys REL+PRES+NEG+fly

'Monkeys don't fly.'

ǰɔrǰ mɔ̃ŋwa àdìlà teete mi.

George REL+PRES+cook food CUST+give me

'George cooks food for me.'

nɛlsɔ̃n nàaŋwa teete mi.

Nelson REL+PRES+NEG+cook CUST+give me

'Nelson doesn't cook for me.'

ii. Statements referring to historical truths or to events in Past time.

kwamì ñkruma nádi gana lɛlɔ kùdrɛdi.

Kwame Nkrumah REL+PAS+eat Ghana body first

'Kwame Nkrumah ruled Ghana first.'

àcampɔ̃ŋ nátaði gana lɛlɔ kùdrɛdi.

Acheampong REL+PAS+NEG+eat Ghana body first

'Acheampong didn't rule Ghana first.'

iii. Prophetic statements.

àtibrùku nuɔciɛ bàbwene.

God REL+FUT+forgive repentant

'God will forgive the repentant.'

àtibrùku naaciɛ bèkpidi.

God REL+FUT+NEG+forgive wicked

'God will not forgive sinners.'

The Relative Past. The Relative Past, both affirmative and negative forms, is formed as follows: the Relative Past prefix, NA- , is on a High tone. If the verb is being negated, then the Negative marker -TA- is infix, also on a High tone. Monosyllabic Verb Stems are on Mid or Low tones opposite to their inherent tone; unfortunately, I have no sound data on the tonal behavior of polysyllabic Verb Stems. All vowels harmonize.

T65 SD: REL + PAS (NEG) C(C) V
[LoTo]

SC: NÁ (-TÁ-) C(C) V

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ɛ Adv} \\ +\text{HiTo} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{ɛ Adv} \\ +\text{HiTo} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{ɛ Adv} \\ -\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix}$$

̀̀pià nádu ̀̀nà̀ ̀̀m̀.

'A spear killed that man.'

̀̀pià náádù ̀̀nà̀ ̀̀m̀.

'A spear didn't kill that man.'

̀̀klàma nádu ̀̀nà̀ ̀̀m̀.

'A dog bit that man.'

̀̀klàma nááu ̀̀nà̀ ̀̀m̀.

'A dog didn't bite that man.'

̀̀mi néyè lèna.

'I bought meat.'

̀̀mi nétéyè lèna.

'I didn't buy meat.'

kwàku néyù sika.

'Kwaku stole the money.'

kwàku nétéyù sika.

'Kwaku didn't steal the money.'

The Affirmative Relative Present for verbs of state. The Affirmative Relative Present for verbs of state (see pp. 261 ff) is identical to the form used for the first person singular Affirmative Simple Present of verbs

of state. It is formed by the following rule:

T66 SD: REL + PRES + $\left[\begin{array}{c} +V, -PRES + PROG \\ C \quad V \quad ((C) \quad V) \\ \text{[LoTo]} \end{array} \right]$

SC: N- + $\left[\begin{array}{c} +V, -PRES + PROG \\ (C \quad V) \quad (C) \quad V \\ \text{[LoTo]} \quad \text{[LoTo]} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} -HiTo \\ -LoTo \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$

àk>sùà nda k>di.

'Akosuah is holding a cloth.'

atà ñkpe kama.

'Attah is lagging behind.'

àmi ñdi un>oti fùlà àtibrùku.

'I am the Lord thy God.'

ntu b>àmè ndia.

'This water is sufficient.'

Relative

The Affirmative/Relative Present for other verbs. The Affirmative
/Present for other verbs is formed as follows: The Relative
Affirmative Present prefix, M0- , is on a Low tone and
harmonizes with the Verb Stem, which retains its inherent

tone(s). All vowels harmonize.

T67 SD: REL- + PRES + [+V, -PRES —]

SC: MÒ- + VSt

[/Adv
+LoTo] [/Adv]

lèpià m̀du bànàà.

'Spears kill people.'

̀klàma m̀dù ̀nàà ̀m̀.

'It's a dog that's biting the man.'

amà mùye lèna.

'It's Ammah who buys meat.'

kwàku mùyu sika.

'Kwaku steals money.'

banamù m̀ỳ mangò.

'Children like mangoes.'

The Negative Relative Present. The Negative Relative Present is formed as follows: The Relative prefix is NÀ- , on a Low tone, the Negative marker is -A- on a

Mid or Low tone opposite to the tone of the first syllable of the Verb Stem, and the Verb Stem retains its inherent tone(s). All vowels harmonize.

T68 SD: REL + PRES + NEG + VSt

SC: NÀ- + -A- + C(C) V (X)*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ +\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ -\text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \\ \text{LoTo} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Adv} \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule, and the rule for the Negative Relative Future, should be compared with the rules for the (non-relative) Negative Present and Negative Future.

bàjìl nèèveì nà katɔ.

'Monkeys don't fly in the sky.'

ɔ̀klàma nààdu àkɔkɔ ɔ̀mɔ.

'A dog isn't killing that chicken.'

ɔ̀klàma nàadù ɔ̀nàna ɔ̀mɔ.

'A dog isn't biting that man.'

amà nèèye lɛna.

'Ammah doesn't buy meat.'

kwàku nèèyu sika.

'Kwaku doesn't steal money.'

The Affirmative Relative Future. The Affirmative Relative Future is formed as follows: the verb is prefixed by NŪO- , in which the first syllable is Low and the second is on the same tone as the first tone of the Verb Stem. The Verb Stem retains its inherent tone(s). All vowels harmonize.

T69	SD:	REL	+	FUT	+	VSt	
	SC:	NŪ	O	+	C(C)	V	(X)*
		[Adv LoTo]			[Adv LoTo]		

ɔ̃pià nùɔ̃du ɔ̃nàɔ̃ ɔ̃mɔ̃.

'It's a spear that'll kill that man.'

ɔ̃klàma nùɔ̃dù ɔ̃nàɔ̃ ɔ̃mɔ̃.

'It's a dog that'll bite that man.'

àmí nùuye lɛna.

'It's me who'll buy meat.'

kwàku nùuyu sika.

'It's Kwaku who'll steal money.'

The Negative Relative Future. The Negative Relative Future is formed as follows: the Relative prefix is NÀ- , on

a Low tone. The Negative marker is -A- on the same tone as the inherent tone of the first syllable of the Verb Stem. Monosyllabic Verb Stems have Mid or Low tone opposite to their inherent tone; my data for polysyllabic Verb Stems is insufficient to draw valid conclusions from. All vowels harmonize.

T70 SD: REL + FUT + NEG + VSt
[LoTo]

SC: NÀ- + -A- + VSt
[ɛAdv] [ɛAdv] [ɛAdv]
[+LoTo] [LoTo] [-LoTo]

The Negative Relative Future and the Negative Relative Present, therefore, are often identical and can be ambiguous.

lèpià nàadù ònàà òmò.

'Spears won't kill that man.'

òklàma nàadu ònàà òmò.

'A dog won't bite that man.'

àmi nèeyè lèna.

'I won't buy meat.'

kwàku nèeyù sika.

'Kwaku won't steal money.'

Subject and Object Potentials

Subject potentials. With the exception of some verbs like ɔ̀lè (ka) 'it is expected (that)' and ɛ̀dì (ka) 'it's necessary (that)' which take sentential complements, all verbs have subjects in deep-structure, although these deep-structure subjects can be deleted optionally before a verb with a Verbal Concordial Prefix.

T71 NP + VConc + X $\stackrel{et}{=}$ VConc + X

1a. mùnà ɛ̀klàma ɔ̀dù èse. =====)

my dog 3s+PAS+kill goat

'My dog killed a goat.'

b. ɔ̀dù èse.

3s+PAS+kill goat

'He killed a goat.'

2a. lèçami lénvɔ̀ líbìè. =====)

plate this LE+PAS+got-broken

'This plate got broken.'

b. líbìè.

LE+PAS+got-broken

'It got broken.'

3a. m̀̀nà ̀̀klàma nàd̀̀ èse. ==/==)

my dog Rel+PAS+kill goat

'It was my dog that killed a goat.'

b. *nàd̀̀ èse.

Rel+PAS+kill goat

*'killed a goat.'

I can make no claims as to any deep-structure subjects for the verbs with sentential complements; there seems to be no justification in Buem for presupposing anything like the transposition and "It"-insertion of English sentences like "It's necessary for him to do the work" or "It's important that I see him."

Verbs fall into four categories on the basis of the subjects that they can take:

i. Those which have no subject. This group is very small and is restricted to verbs which take sentential complements:

̀̀lè ka lèbla kutu.

it-is-expected that 1s+SUBJ+make soup

'I have to make soup.', 'I ought to make soup.'

ii. Those which can have any Noun Phrase as their

subject. This group includes verbs like b̀̀cà 'to be (somewhere)', b̀̀dì 'to be (someone or something)', b̀̀dìà 'to be good', b̀̀du 'to kill', buse 'to be (quality)', b̀̀tul̀̀ 'to surpass', etc.

yao ́d̀̀ òkpɛ.

Yao 3s+PAS+kill grasscutter

'Yao killed a grasscutter.'

l̀̀etabi l̀̀éd̀̀ òkpɛ.

stone LE+PAS+kill grasscutter

'A stone killed the grasscutter.'

k̀̀v̀̀ò b̀̀ni b̀̀d̀̀ òkpɛ.

medicine drinking BO+PAS+kill grasscutter

'Drinking poison killed the grasscutter.'

iii. Those which take only animate subjects. This group includes verbs like b̀̀kp̀̀ 'to die', b̀̀nu 'to see', b̀̀ti 'to know', b̀̀̀̀wà 'to harvest', etc. I see little point in dividing this group into those verbs which can take only human subjects and those which can take any animate subjects since at worst a sentence like

òkpɛ ́̀̀wà anim̀̀.

'The grasscutter cooked rice.'

is only marginally deviant.

iv. Those which take only inanimate subjects or subjects which are presumed to be no longer animate. This group includes verbs like bɔ̀kùì 'to be dry', bɔ̀cùì 'to get burnt', bubiè 'to get broken', bɔ̀wurɔ̀ 'to be exhausted', etc.

ɔ̀nantu ɔ̀na.

rain 3s+PRES+rain

'It's raining.'

lèná lifi.

meat LE+PRES+be-hot

'The meat's hot.'

kɔ̀bè kɔ̀kùì ná lètábi katɔ̀.

fish KO+PAS+dry at stone top

'The fish dried on top of the rock.'

The second type, the group which can take any subject, would be left unmarked in the complex symbol for the verb; the other types would be listed as follows:

- i. [+V, Ø ____] ,
- iii. [+V, +Anim ____] , and
- iv. [+V, -Anim ____] .

In some cases, subject selection may co-vary with complement selection, so that a verb may belong to two of the groups of subject potential depending partly on what complements it takes. Thus, when the verb *bɔhia* 'to be important' is used intransitively (i.e., without any complement) it can take any Noun Phrase as its subject:

boràdà ɔga ɔhia.

Borada chief 3s+PRES+be-important

'The chief of Borada is important.'

àlà bɔtia ɔhia.

things learning BO+PRES+be-important.

'Learning is important.' ;

however, when it is followed by a sentential complement, it takes no Noun Phrase as its subject:

ɔhia ka bèye adi.

3s+PRES+be-important that 3p+SUBJ+buy cloths

'It's important that they buy cloths.'

Similarly, when *bɔlɛmi* 'to open' is used intransitively, it takes only inanimate subjects:

ɔtɔ ɔlɛmì.

house 3s+PRES+open

'The door is open.'

but it takes an animate subject when used transitively
(i.e., when followed by at least one Noun Phrase):

ɲwa ɛɲwani ɛlɛmi ɔtɔ.

his brother 3s+PAS+open house

'His brother opened the door.'

These verbs, and others like them, would have complex
symbols like:

bɔhia [+V, _____ Ø, Ø _____ ka + SUBJ + S]
'to be important'

bɔlɛmi [+V, -Anim _____ Ø, +Anim _____ -Anim]
'to open'

At this point, I should mention that while Buem has no
passives which are like those of English, it is possible
to indicate that the performer of an action (i.e., the
subject of a verb which is not intransitive) is either
unknown or irrelevant by using the Verbal Concordial
Prefix for the third person plural, BA- :

bádù ɔkpe.

3p+PAS+kill grasscutter

'They killed the grasscutter.' or

'The grasscutter was killed.'

bálèmi ɔtɔ.

3p+PAS+open house

'They opened the door.' or

'The door was opened.'

baalɔ̀ mɪ kwàku.

3p+PRES+call me Kwaku

'They call me Kwaku.' or

'I'm called Kwaku.'

bácùlà kuji.

3p+PAS+burn tree

'They burned the tree.' or

'Somebody burned the tree.' or

'The tree was burnt.'

(Note that this last example differs from

kuji kɔ̀cùlɪ.

tree KO+PAS+get-burnt

'The tree got burnt.'

in that the former implies deliberate action, while the latter does not.) I am not certain as to what the deep-structure Noun Phrase subject is in these constructions (and, for that matter, in the underlying sentences for derived nouns); however, it seems likely that it is a

Noun Phrase like bècwiri báǎ̀ 'certain people' since it is this which is used when the subject of an intransitive verb or of a verb of motion is indefinite.

bècwiri báǎ̀ bébò mé.

people certain 3p+PAS+come here

'Certain people came here.'

Complementation. There are several different ways by which a verb can be complemented:

i. It can have no complement at all.(i.e., a verb can be intransitive):

mùná àti úkpì.

my father 3s+PAS+die

'My father died.'

ii. It can be followed by a single Noun Phrase, functioning as a direct object, and optional prepositional phrases of instrument and/or accompaniment (i.e., a verb can be transitive):

mùná àti ɔ̀dù ɔ̀kpɛ.

my father 3s+PAS+kill grasscutter

'My father killed a grasscutter.'

mùná àti ɔ̀dù ɔ̀kpɛ kù ɔ̀klantiè.

my father 3s+PAS+kill grasscutter with cutlass

'My father killed a grasscutter with a cutlass.'

mùná àti úsè kemo kù mùná uni.

my father 3s+PAS+go farm with my mother

'My father went to farm with my mother.'

iii. It can be followed by two Noun Phrases, the first functioning as an indirect object, the second as a direct object. (In many cases, the indirect object, which is almost invariably animate, can be omitted.)

létinà frankòfùò lèdi ala.

1s+PAS+teach Franco-people language things

'I taught Franco students things about language.'

létinà lèdi ala.

1s+PAS+teach language things

'I taught things about language.'

bètè kwàsi ɔ̀ku.

3p+PAS+give Kwasi book

'They gave Kwasi a book.' or

'Kwasi was given a book.'

iv. It can be followed by a prepositional phrase of accompaniment or instrument:

b̀̀sia ku ami.

3s+PRES+follow with me

'It's following me.'

b̀̀te ŋ ku ami.

3s+PRES+sleep Ø with me

'She sleeps with me.'

(In many cases, the ku of the prepositional phrase is tending to fuse with the Verb Stem.)

v. It can be followed by a prepositional phrase consisting of ku following by an Infinitival Phrase:

b̀̀da kù àjùmà b̀̀bla.

1p+PRES+hold with work doing

'We're in the middle of working.'

(As far as I can tell, this complement occurs only after b̀̀dà 'to hold, to grasp'.)

vi. If the verb is b̀̀dì 'to be', it can be followed by a single Noun Phrase in apposition with the subject of the verb:

ɲwa pàpa ɔ̃di ɔ̃kajɔma ɔga.

his father 3s+PRES+be Okajakrom chief

'His father is the chief of Okajakrom.'

vii. If the verb is bùsè 'to be', it can be followed by an adjective or participle:

úsè bɔ̃ɔ̃.

3s+PRES+be big

'It's big.'

viii. It can be followed by a sentential complement in the Subjunctive:

mɔbɔmɔdi litià lèlèmi lɛdi.

1s+PRES+try 1s+SUBJ+learn Lèlèmi language

'I'm trying to learn the Lèlèmi language.'

ààkanà èse kuye.

2s+PRES+NEG+be-able 2s+SUBJ+go market

'You can't go to market.'

ix. It can be followed by a sentential complement in the Subjunctive and introduced by kà :

mɔwià kà èse kuye.

1s+PRES+seek that 2s+SUBJ+go market

'I want you to go to market.'

x. It can be followed by indirect discourse, with or without an indirect object:

búnù kà bíbò mé.

1p+PAS+hear that 2p+PAS+come here

'We heard that you came here.'

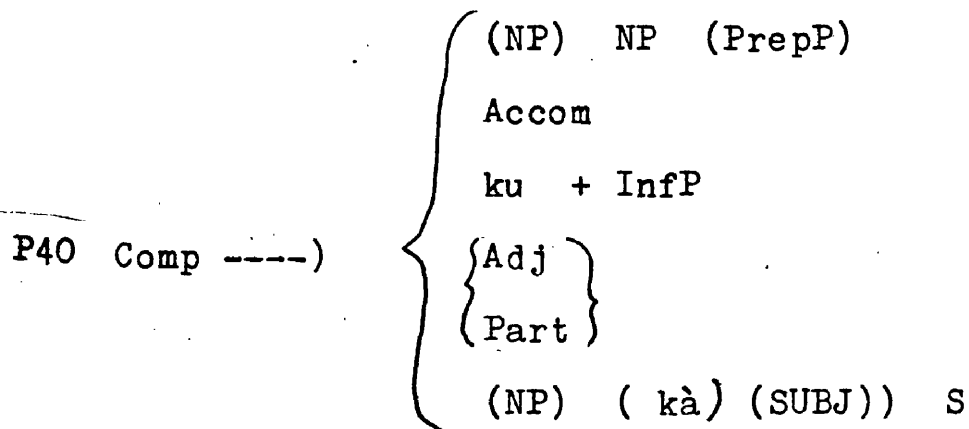
básù ñ kà ñwa pàpa úùkpì.

3p+PAS+tell him that his father 3s+PAS+PROG+die

'They told him that his father had died.' or

'He was told that his father had died.'

The rule below schematizes these various complements:



and the following observations should be made:

i. Although generally a verb can be complemented in only one way, some verbs can be complemented in several different ways:

nda lècami.

1s+PRES+hold plate

'I'm holding a plate.'

nda kù lècami b̀̀f̀̀.

1s+PRES+hold with plate washing

'I'm in the process of washing the plate.'

békpò twifò kù lèpià.

3p+PAS+fight Twis with spears

'They fought the Twis with spears.'

békpò kù twifò kù lèpià.

3p+PAS+fight with Twis with spears

'They fought with the Twis with spears.'

́̀sù lègba.

3s+PAS+tell proverb

'She told a proverb.'

́̀sù mà kà ́̀wà kamu.

3s+PAS+tell them that 3s+PRES+harvest rice

'She told them that she was harvesting rice.'

ii. In affirmative sentences, all transitive verbs, with the exception of verbs of motion and s), must have at serial constructions (see pp. 396 *fl*), must have at

least one object. In the event that the exact recipient of the action of the verb is unknown or irrelevant, the noun àlà 'things' is used as the object.

*m̃ɔ̃wa.

1s+PRES+cook

*'I'm cooking.'

but

m̃ɔ̃wa àlà.

1s+PRES+cook things

'I'm cooking something.'

*ɔ̃ɔ̃bla.

3s+PRES+work

*'He's working.'

but

ɔ̃ɔ̃bla àlà.

3s+PRES+work things

'He's doing something.'

*bɔ̃dù.

1p+PAS+kill

*'We killed.'

but

bɔ̀dù àlà.

1p+PAS+kill things

'We killed things.'

This restriction does not hold for negative sentences: transitive verbs in negative sentences can occur either with or without a complement.

ńtánwà.

1s+PAS+NEG+cook

'I didn't cook.'

ńtánwà àlà.

1s+PAS+NEG+cook things

'I didn't cook anything.'

iii. In the same way that the choice of a subject for the verb is governed by selectional restrictions, so is the choice of an object for the verb: verbs like bɔ̀du 'to kill', for example, require animate objects, verbs like bɔ̀paì 'to crack' require inanimate objects, etc. (I shall consider the question of whether, for example, an object for verbs like bɔ̀paì 'to crack' should be formally specified as being [-Animate, +Rigid] to be irrelevant.)

iv. Verbs of motion in Buem should be considered as

being a sub-category of the class of transitive verbs rather than as being a sub-category of the class of intransitives. The prime reason for this is that the structure of sentences like

lísè kemo.

1s+PAS+go farm

'I went to farm.'

is identical to that of sentences like

líyè kemo.

1s+PAS+sell farm

'I sold a farm.'

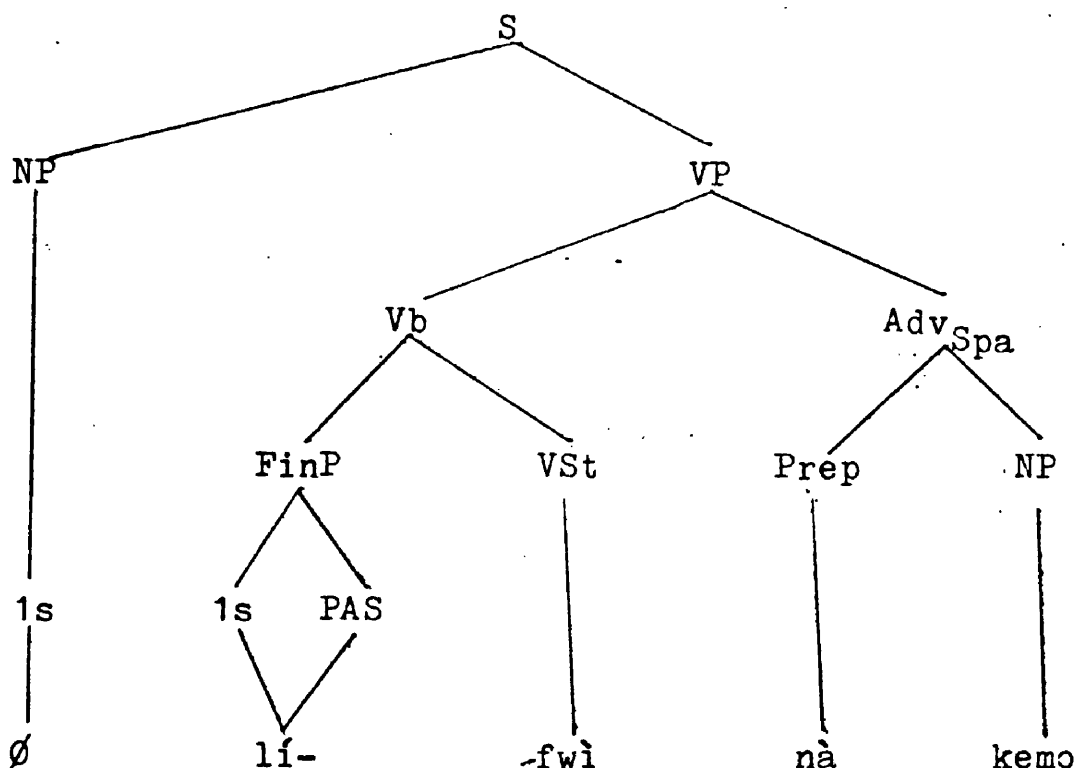
and quite different from that of sentences like

lífwi nà kemo.

1s+PAS+be-sick at farm

'I was sick at farm.'

The first two have deep-structures like:



(A small problem does arise, however, if we consider the sentences

líbò mé.

'I came here.'

lífwì mé.

'I was sick here.'

and

*líyè mé.

*'I sold here.'

in which the parallelism seems much greater between the verb of motion and the intransitive verb than between the verb of motion and the transitive verb; it can be resolved

more easily by allowing verbs of motion to take objects only optionally, rather than obligatorily, than by asserting that Spatial Determiners like *mé* 'here' and *mó* 'there' are complements of verbs of motion, since this latter proposal would give sentences like *libò mé*. two different deep-structures, one in which *mé* was dominated by the Complement node and the other in which it was dominated by the Spatial Adverbial node.

I consider sentential complements on pp. 415 //

As I stated on p. 244 , the information as to the subject and complement potentials of a particular Verb Root is stored in the Complex Symbol for that Verb Root. Some of these Complex Symbols are exemplified below.

bùbò [+V, -PRES + PROG __, __ NP 'to have']

bubo [+V, -PRES (PROG) __, __ \emptyset , __ -Anim
'to come']

bòdà [+V, PRES (PROG) __, Anim __, - __ Abstract,
'to grasp, to hold', __ ku + InfP
'to be in the process of']

- bɔ̌dɪ [+V, -PRES + PROG __, __ NP 'to exist as'; -PRES __, Anim __, -__∅, - __ Abstract (except figuratively) 'to eat']
- bɔ̌du [+V, -PRES __, __ Anim 'to kill']
- bɔ̌dù [+V, -PRES __, Anim __, -__∅, - __ Abstract 'to bite']
- bùfwì [+V, -PRES __, Anim__∅ 'to be sick']
- bɔ̌kana [+V, -PRES __, __ InfP, __ SUBJ + S 'to be able']
- bɔ̌ku [+V, -PRES __, __ -I : -Abstract __∅ 'to be dried'; __ -LA : Anim __, -__∅, - __ Abstract 'to dry']
- bùkpì [+V, -PRES __, Anim__∅ 'to die']
- bukpo [+V, -PRES __, Anim__(ku) Anim 'to fight (with)']
- bɔ̌lèmi [+V, -PRES __, -Anim__∅, Anim__ -Anim, - __ Abstract 'to open']
- bɔ̌nu [+V, -PRES __, Anim __, -__∅, - __ Abstract, __ kà + S 'to see']
- buse [+V, -PRES + PROG __, __ Adj, __ Part 'to be']

- b>si [+V, -PRES + PROG __ , __ \emptyset , __ -Anim
 'to come from'; __ -A : Anim __ ku +
 Anim 'to follow after']
- b>sù [+V, -PRES __ , Anim __ (Anim) Abstract,
 Anim __ (Anim) ka + S 'to tell']
- b>ti [+V, -PRES + PROG __ , Anim __ NP, Anim __
 ka + S 'to know'; __ -A : -PRES __ ,
 Anim __ Abstract, Anim __ ka + S 'to
 learn'; __ -NA : -PRES __ , Anim __
 (Anim NP), Anim __ (Anim) ka + S 'to
 teach, to show']

Adverbials and Prepositional Phrases

There are five types of adverbials:

- i. Adverbials of accompaniment (Accom),
- ii. Instrumentals (Inst),
- iii. Manner adverbials (Adv_{Man}),
- iv. Spatial adverbials (Adv_{Spa}), and
- v. Time adverbials (Adv_{Temp}).

The first two are dominated by the node labelled "PrepP_{ku}" in the verbal complement; the last three are dominated by the node labelled "Adv" in the Verb Phrase.

P41' PrepP_{ku} -----) (Accom)(Inst)

P42 Adv -----) (Adv_{Man})(Adv_{Spa})(Adv_{Temp})

Adverbials of accompaniment. Adverbials of accompaniment consist of the preposition kù 'with' followed by an animate Noun Phrase.

P43 Accom -----) kù + NP
[+Anim]

There are a few verbs which take complements consisting solely of adverbials of accompaniment: b̀ṣia 'to follow',

bɔtɛ 'to lie', bɔsa 'to meet', and adverbials of accompaniment can follow most verbs which have only a single object or which are verbs of motion.

lékà ɔku ɔmɔ̀ kù kwàmì.

1s+PAS+read book that with Kwame

'I read the book with Kwame.'

mɔ̀di àbolò kù àkɔ̀sùà.

1s+PRES+eat abolo with Akosuah

'I'm eating "abolo" (a kind of bread) with Akosuah.'

lísè ɔma ŋ kemo kù mɛnsà.

1s+PAS+go town Ø inside with Mensah.

'I went to town with Mensah.'

bébò mé kù mana bebi.

3p+PAS+come here with their children

'They came here with their children.'

I should point out, however, that it is much more common to find sentences with compound subjects than it is to find sentences with adverbials of accompaniment.

àmi ku àkɔ̀sùà bɔ̀bɔ̀di àbolò.

I and Akosuah 1p+PRES+eat abolo

'Akosuah and I are eating abolo.'

Instrumentals. Instrumental adverbials consist of the preposition kù 'with' followed by an inanimate Noun Phrase.

P44 Inst -----) kù + NP
[-Anim]

They can follow virtually any transitive verb and a number of intransitive verbs as well.

bádù bakpe kù mànà lèklantiè.

3p+PAS+kill grasscutters with their cutlasses

'They killed grasscutters with their cutlasses.'

kòfi òkùlò lùlù kù ñwa òsikà.

Kofi 3s+PAS+cut yam with his knife

'Kofi cut yams with his knife.'

bòfòfò bua adi kù omo.

1p+PRES+wash our clothes with Omo.

'We wash our clothes with Omo.'

bèculi bàmè békpò kù àtabi.

people these 3p+PAS+fight with stones

'These people fought with stones.'

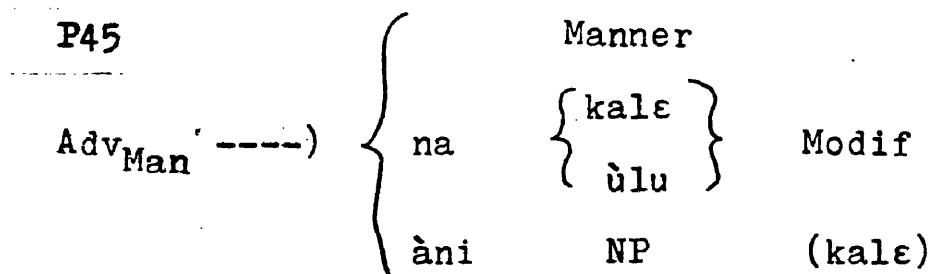
bèculi bàmè békpò kù twifo kù àtabi.

people these 3p+PAS+fought with Twis with stones

'These people fought with the Twis with stones.'

Manner adverbials. Manner adverbials are formed in one of three ways:

- i. By use of a Manner adverb (Manner),
- ii. By use of a Prepositional Phrase consisting of *na* followed by either *kale* 'manner' or *ùlu* 'way' and appropriate modifiers, or
- iii. By use of a Prepositional Phrase consisting of *àni* 'like' followed by a Noun Phrase followed optionally by *kale* 'manner'.



There are a great many words which are used as manner adverbs; while many of them are onomatopoeic and may be restricted to one or two verbs, there are a number of manner adverbs which can be used with a great variety of verbs; some of these are:

basa-basa	'without paying attention'
bwe-bwe	'badly'
bweè	'slowly'

gɔ̃ndi-gɔ̃ndi	'crookedly'
kàdweè	'fine'
kale-kale	'half-heartedly, without concentrating'
kede-kede	'completely'
kèsi-kèsi	'everywhere'
kra(-kra)	'"at aaalll," in no way'
momomo	General intensifier: very loudly, very rapidly, etc.
ɲwaà	'clearly'
pla	'quickly'
sinini	'as expected'
sɔ̃sɔ̃	'truly'
tàtaàta	'level'
tètɛtɛ	'(filled) to the top'
taajaa	'excessively'
kaja	'excessively'

A number of adjectives can also be used as manner adverbs. Probably the most obvious characteristic of the manner adverbs is their reduplication; slightly less obvious is the fact that a number of them show obvious signs of re-

relationship with other kinds of words:

sɔ	'true'	sɔsɔ̃	'truly'
kɛ̃si	'place' (n)	kɛ̃si-kɛ̃si	'everywhere'
bwɛ	'bad'	bwɛ-bwɛ	'badly'
bubomo	'be fat'	momomo	Intensifier
bɔta	'to rise'	tàtaàta	'level'

Manner adverbials introduced by *na* are most often used to describe actions for which there is no one-word adverb.

ɔdà bù na kalɛ nààdià bù.

3s+PAS+treat us in manner Rel+PRES+NEG+be-good us

'He treated us in a manner that wasn't good for us.'

ɔblà. ɲwa kàlàbla n'ùlu ɔni léèwià.

3s+PAS+do his work in+way REL 1s+PAS+PROG+seek

'He did his work in the way I had looked for.'

Manner adverbials introduced by *àni* are used for similes.

kòjo ɔ̀ɔ̀bla lɛlɔ̀ àni ɔ̀tìnane (kalɛ).

Kojo 3s+PRES+do self like teacher (manner)

'Kojo acts like a teacher.'

kwabena ɔ̀tɛ̀mɪ àni ɔ̀ga (kale).

Kwabena 3s+PRES+talk like chief (manner)

'Kwabena talks like a chief.'

This type of manner adverbial should be compared with the subordinate clauses of manner (pp. 441-2).

Spatial adverbials. Spatial adverbials consist either of the stem to the Spatial Determiners (see pp. 195ff) or of a prepositional phrase introduced by *nà* and followed either by the name of a place or by a Noun Phrase in which the head noun refers to a place.

P46 Adv_{Spa}-----) { Det_{Spa}
 na + NP
 [+Place]

In "Standard Buem," the Spatial Determiners are *mé* 'here' and *mɔ́* 'there'; in Baglo and Baglo-Odumase, they are *mé* 'here', *ńvɔ́* 'there', and *ńjè* 'yonder'. The same nouns which can function as the objects of verbs of motion can also function as the objects of the preposition *na* in a Spatial adverbial. Other than the names of places such as Hohoe, Jasikan, Kumasi, etc. or such as

ɔtɔ	'house'
ɔma	'town'
kemu	'farm'
kadruì	'compound (fig., home)'
kuye	'market',

the nouns used most commonly as the objects of a verb of motion or of na in a spatial adverbial are:

kama 'behind, in back of'

lénù kwamì na kadruì kama.

'I saw Kwame in back of the house.'

animì 'in front of'

lénù kwamì na kadruì animì.

'I saw Kwame in front of the house.'

lɔlɔ 'on top of'

lénù àyìkpè na libokù lɔlɔ.

'I saw a mouse on top of the chair.'

kalɔ 'beneath, under'

lénù àyìkpè na libokù kalɔ.

'I saw a mouse under the chair.'

kadu 'bottom' (on the outside)

lénù èfi na libwi kadu.

'I saw dirt on the bottom of the pot.'

kemo

'inside'

lénù kwamì na ɔtɔ ŋ kemo.

'I saw Kwame inside the house.'

kudɔ (Lèf. krɔ)

'beside, chez, near'

lénù àyìkpɛ na kadruì kudɔ.

'I saw a mouse beside the house.'

lénù àyìkpɛ na vampair kudɔ.

'I saw a mouse near Vampire.' or '... around Vampire'

kake

'side, section, area, "quarter"'

lénù kwamì na kadruì kòdì ànu kake.

1s+PAS+see Kwame at compound eating hand side

'I saw Kwame in the right-hand side of the compound.'

ntè

'between'

borada ñca lisemi kù jasikan ntè.

Borada REL+PRES+be-at Teteman and Jasikan between

'Borada is between Teteman and Jasikan.'

akɔ

'among'

ulie bàlèmi akɔ.

'He stays among the Lèlèmi.'

katɔ

'up, above, over'

ɔfɛ òca bua katɔ.

'The sun is above us.'

kàda 'down, below, at the foot of'
 ketu kámò kàca kòbì kada.

'The river is at the foot of the mountain.'

The following observations should be made:

i. The nouns which function as the objects of na cannot be considered as post-positions since virtually all of them have the same distribution as other inanimate nouns, and virtually all have otherwise independent status in the language, as we can see by omitting the na from a couple of sentences: in

lénù kwamì kadruì kama.

'I saw the back of Kwame's house.',

for example, and in

lénù àyìkpe libokù lɔlɔ.

'I saw the top of the mouse's chair.',

kama 'back' and lɔlɔ 'top' both function as the objects of the verb lénù 'I saw.' The fact that the objects of na are not post-positions is made especially clear by looking at the words of the folk song "Lèlà n'àva" ("The Things You Sow"):

...lèlà n'ávà na kal>,

...thing REL+2s+PAS+sow on Earth,

'...what you sowed on Earth,'

ànu n'èède na kat>...'

it REL+2s+FUT+CERT+reap in Heaven...

'that's what you'll reap in Heaven...',

in which both kal> and kat> can only be considered as full nouns.

ii. kake 'side' is usually preceded by either kèdì ànu 'right hand' or kèmi 'left'; it may also be preceded by either kama 'rear' or animì 'front'.

iii. kat> and kàda are also used to refer to North and South, respectively; the other two compass points, East and West, are referred to by the phrases >fε katuk> 'sun's rising place' and >fε kanuḡk> 'sun's setting place', respectively.

iv. The difference between sentences like úsè >ma. and úsè >ma η kemo. or between sentences like úsè >t>. and úsè >t> η kemo. is analogous to the difference between the English sentences "He went to town." and "He went to the town." or between "He went home." and "He went to the house."

Time adverbials. Time adverbials usually come at the end of a sentence, but may be front-shifted for emphasis; the time adverbials *ebia* 'perhaps' and *ɔ̃fàlɛ* 'perhaps' always occur at the beginning of a sentence.

T72 SD: NP + V (X) Adv_{Temp} + EMPH
 SC: Adv_{Temp} + NP + V (X)

T73 SD: NP + V (X) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ebia} \\ \text{ɔ̃fàlɛ} \end{array} \right\}$
 SC: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ebia} \\ \text{ɔ̃fàlɛ} \end{array} \right\}$ + NP + V (X)

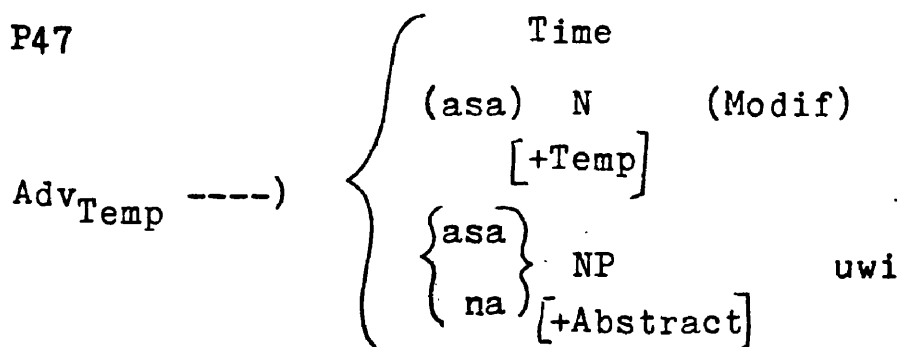
There are three kinds of time adverbials:

- i. Time adverbs,
- ii. Adverbial phrases of time, consisting of a temporal noun and its modifiers, if any, and optionally preceded by *asa* 'before', and
- iii. Adverbial phrases of time, consisting of either *asa* 'before' or *na* 'at' followed by an abstract noun followed by *uwi* 'time'. It is possible for the different kinds of time adverbial to co-occur, either with other time adverbials of the same type or

of different types; however, I have not yet worked out the patterns of ordering or the co-occurrence restrictions, and in fact it is possible that the two types "Time" and " N " can be collapsed into one.

[+Temp]

P47



Below is a list of some of the more common words used in time adverbials.

kamadi	'yesterday'
ɔmwi	'today'
kɔnadi	'tomorrow'
kadi	'a particular day'
ɔfayɪ	'now'
ɔpe	'now'
daà	'always'
uwi biala kemo	'all the time'

kùdiì	'never'
kuku	'ancient times'
dièdi	'the future'
uy>lu	'a few days'
kama	'before'
t>	'yet, still'
lèkwa, a-	'year'
k>bulì, a-	'month'
dàpe	'week'
limeì, e-	'day'
òtantà, lè-	'morning' (poetic)
lèdìjè	'morning'
>fwi	'daytime'
useì, li-	'evening'
use, li-	'night'
kasa	'night-time'

The original Buem calendar consisted of five-day weeks; however, this calendar is no longer in use except by fetish-priests and others who observe the traditional forms of worship and has been replaced by the general

Ghanaian calendar, which uses a seven-day week. The names of the days of the week according to the traditional calendar are:

1st day	lèyai	Aya-day (Goddess)
2nd "	àdolimeì	Adoli-day (God)
3rd "	lìme plɔ̀ɔ̀	
4th "	lìyeì	
5th "	limenyɔ̀nei	(No farming for kudubi clan)

The names of the days of the week according to the general Ghanaian calendar and the birthday names are:

	<u>Day</u>	<u>Boy</u>	<u>Girl</u>
Sunday	kwasida	Kwasi	Akosuah
Monday	joda	Kojo	Adjuah
Tuesday	blada	Kwabena	Amina
Wednesday	kuda	Kwaku	Akuah
Thursday	yaoda	Yao	Yawa
Friday	fida	Kofi	Afua, Afi
Saturday	mamlida	Kwame	Ammah

Part VI. Conjunction and Subordination

Conjunction of Noun Phrases

When two or more sentences differ only in their selection of instances of Noun-Phrase in the same position, they can be conjoined by inserting *ku* 'and' or *ku* or *ma* 'or' (see PP. 402-8) between each pair of dissimilar Noun Phrases and retaining the balance of the structure of only one of the sentences.

- T74 (X) NP₁ (Y) }
 (X) NP₂ (Y) } =====)
 (X) NP₁ { ^{liye}ku } NP₂ (Y)
 #a# #a#
- 1a. liyè òsiì. }
 'I bought a gourd.' }
 b. liyè òfɛ. } =====)
 'I bought a calabash' }
 c. liyè òsiì ku òfɛ.
 'I bought a gourd and a calabash.'
- 2a. bèkpò kù àsantifo n'ui kuku. }
 'They fought with the Asanti long ago.' }
 b. bèkpò kù kwawufo n'ui kuku. } =====)
 'They fought with the Kwawu long ago.' }
 c. bèkpò kù àsantifo ku kwawufo n'ui kuku.
 'They fought with the Asante and the Kwawu long ago.'

When the conjoined Noun Phrases consist of nouns, infinitival phrases, or pronouns in the third person, then the ordering is irrelevant;

líyè òsiì ku ɔfɛ kàmàdì.

'I bought a gourd and a calabash yesterday.'

and

líyè ɔfɛ ku òsiì kàmàdì.

'I bought a calabash and a gourd yesterday.'

are both equally acceptable. However, when one or more of the conjoined Noun Phrases is a pronoun in either the first or the second person, the ordering is that first person pronouns come before second person pronouns, which come before everything else.

àlà òtìnane ɔwìà mi ku àwo ku bùlà bakpana.

thing teacher 3s+PRES+seek me and you(s) and
our friends

'The teacher is looking for me and you and our
friends.'

*àlà òtìnane ɔwìà o ku àmi.

thing teacher 3s+PRES+seek you(s) and me

*'The teacher is looking for you and me.'

Whether the pronouns are singular or plural is irrelevant.

T75 (X) [1] (Y) }
 (X) [2] (Y) }
 (X) NP (Y) }
 (X) ([1] ku I [2] ku I NP) (Y) =====)

Conjoined NPs as subjects of a verb. When the subject of a finite verb which is not a Relative Verb form consists of two or more conjoined Noun Phrases, not more than one of which is animate, the verb agrees in number and Noun Class only with the Noun Phrase which immediately precedes it; the number and/or Noun Class of earlier Noun Phrases is completely irrelevant.

lìbwì lèpaì.

LE/A+pot LE+PRES+be-cracked

'The pot is cracked.'

lècamì lèpaì.

LE/A+dish LE+PRES+be-cracked

'The dish is cracked.'

lìbwì ku lècamì lèpaì.

LE/A+pot and LE/A+dish LE+PRES+be-cracked

'The pot and the dish are cracked.'

*lìbwì ku lècamì àpaì.

*LE/A+pot and LE/A+dish A+PRES+be-cracked
àcamì àpaì.

LE/A+dish A+PRES+be-cracked

'The dishes are cracked.'

lìbwì ku àcamì àpaì.

LE/A+pot and LE/A+dish A+PRES+be-cracked

'The pot and the dishes are cracked.'

àcamì ku lìbwì lèpaì.

LE/A+dish and LE/A+pot LE+PRES+be-cracked

'The dishes and the pot are cracked.'

*àcamì ku lìbwì àpaì.

*LE/A+dish and LE/A+pot A+PRES+be-cracked

ɔfɛ ɔnvɔ ɔpaì.

O/LE+calabash O+that O+PRES+be-cracked

'That calabash is cracked.'

ɔfɛ ɔnvɔ ku lìbwì lèpaì.

O/LE+calabash O+that and LE/A+pot LE+PRES+be-cracked

'That calabash and the pot are cracked.'

lìbwì ku ɔfɛ ɔnvɔ ɔpaì.

LE/A+Pot and O/LE+calabash O+that O+PRES+be-cracked

'The pot and that calabash are cracked.'

*lɪbwɪ ku ɔfɛ ʒnvɔ̃ lɛpaɪ.

*LE/A+pot and O/LE+calabash O+that LE+PRES+be-cracked

ʒbɛdiɛ ʒca ɔtɔ ŋ kemo.

O/LE+plantain O+PRES+be-in room Ø inside

'A plantain is in the room.'

kàjɪl kàca ɔtɔ ŋ kemo.

KA/BA+monkey KA+PRES+be-in room Ø inside

'A monkey is in the room.'

ʒbɛdiɛ ku kàjɪl kàca ɔtɔ ŋ kemo.

O/LE+plantain and KA/BA+monkey KA+PRES+be-in
room inside

'A plantain and a monkey are inside the room.'

kàjɪl ku ʒbɛdiɛ ʒca ɔtɔ ŋ kemo.

KA/BA+monkey and O/LE+plantain O+PRES+be-in
room inside

'A monkey and a plantain are inside the room.'

?kàjɪl ku ʒbɛdiɛ bàca ɔtɔ ŋ kemo.

?KA/BA+monkey and O/LE+plantain BA+PRES+be-in
room inside

*ʒbɛdiɛ ku kàjɪl ʒca ɔtɔ ŋ kemo.

*O/LE+plantain and KA/BA+monkey O+PRES+be-in
room inside

Similarly,

ɔfɛ ku lɪbwɪ ku àcamɪ ku kuji kɔpaɪ.

'A calabash and a pot and dishes and a stick
are cracked.'

kuji ku ɔfɛ ku lɪbwɪ ku àcamɪ àpaɪ.

'A stick and a calabash and a pot and dishes
are cracked.'

àcamɪ ku kuji ku ɔfɛ ku lɪbwɪ lèpaɪ.

'Dishes and a stick and a calabash and a pot
are cracked.'

lɪbwɪ ku àcamɪ ku kuji ku ɔfɛ ɔpaɪ.

'A pot and dishes and a stick and a calabash
are cracked.'

are all acceptable, while sentences like

*àcamɪ ku kuji ku lɪbwɪ àpaɪ.

*LE/A+Dish and KO/A+stick and LE/A+pot A+PRES+be-
cracked

are all unacceptable, even though the Noun Phrases concerned all have identical plural forms. (Incidentally, this provides strong counter-evidence to the suggestion made by Voeltz (1971) and Givón (1972) that conjoined

Noun Phrases probably always entail plural agreement forms: in Buem, the same rule (see page 238) which controls agreement for simple Noun Phrases also controls agreement for most compound Noun Phrases as well.)

The situation is different, however, when two or more of the conjoined Noun Phrases are animate; in this case, the following rules apply:

i. If one of the conjoined Noun Phrases is the first person pronoun, either singular or plural, then Verbal Concordial Prefix is marked for the first person plural.

T76 SD: [1] ku NP + VConc

SC: [1] ku NP + BO-

àmi ku àwo búsè skul.

I and you(s) 1p+PAS+go school

'You and I went to school.'

àmi ku kòfi búsè skul.

I and Kofi 1p+PAS+go school

'Kofi and I went to school.'

ii. If neither is the first person pronoun, but one is the second person pronoun, either singular or plural, then the Verbal Concordial Prefix is marked for the

second person plural.

T77 SD: [2] ku NP + VConc

SC: [2] ku NP + BE-

àwo ku kòfi bísè skul.

you(s) and Kofi 2p+PAS+go school

'You and Kofi went to school.'

àwo ku muna bebi bísè skul.

you(s) and my children 2p+PAS+go school

'You and my children went to school.'

iii. Otherwise, the Verbal Concordial Prefix is marked for the third person plural.

T78 SD: NP ku NP + VConc
[+Anim] [+Anim]

SC: NP ku NP + BA-
[+Anim] [+Anim]

kofonù ku èse bàca liyu kemo.

sheep and goat 3p+PRES+be-in shed inside

'A sheep and a goat are inside the shed.'

ɲwà ùbì ku ɲwà pàpa békpì.

his child and his father 3p+PAS+die

'His child and his father died.'

Effects of conjunction on noun modifiers. Generally, there is no reduction of identical noun modifiers when two or more Noun Phrases are conjoined.

3a. lɪbwɪ lɪkpɪdɪ

'a bad pot'

b. lɛcɪmɪ lɪkpɪdɪ

'a bad dish'

c. lɪbwɪ lɪkpɪdɪ ku lɛcɪmɪ lɪkpɪdɪ.

'a bad pot and a bad dish!'

=====)

4a. bɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀ bɔ̀mɛ̀

'these men'

b. bɛ̀lɔ̀kɪ bɔ̀mɛ̀

'these women'

c. bɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀ bɔ̀mɛ̀ ku bɛ̀lɔ̀kɪ bɔ̀mɛ̀

'these men and women'

=====)

There are, in Buem, no ambiguities similar to the oft-quoted "old men and women," which would be rendered in Buem either as bɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀ kuku kù bɛ̀lɔ̀kɪ , where bɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀ kuku 'old men! would form one unit and bɛ̀lɔ̀kɪ 'women' another or as bɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀ kuku ku bɛ̀lɔ̀kɪ kuku 'old men and old women.'

Conjunction of Verb Phrases (Serial Verbs)

Serial verbal constructions are the result of the conjunction of two or more sentences which have the same Noun Phrase(s) as their subjects, which refer to the same periods of time, which are all affirmative or all negative, and which differ only in their selection of verbs and complements. The Verb Phrases are ordered by the referential sequence of events, so that a verb referring to one event which takes place before a second event will occur in the sentence earlier than a verb referring to the second event; when they appear, however, the verb *bɔsɔ* 'to again' always occurs first in a serial construction and the verb *butulò* 'to surpass' always occurs last in a serial construction.

ʒsɔ ʒdɪ sika útulò amà

3s+PAS+again 3s+PAS+eat money 3s+PAS+surpass Ammah

'She again wasted more money than Ammah.'

lɪsɛ kuye líyè lɛna lɛkù.

1s+PAS+go market 1s+PAS+buy meat 1s+PAS+chew

'I went to the market, bought meat, and ate it.'

Furthermore, when more than one verb is used to describe a particular segment of an event, generally the more general verb precedes the more specific one.

ɔga ɔmɛ ɔtɛmɪ ɔsɔ̀ mǎ ɲwa mla.

chief that 3s+PRES+speak 3s+PRES+tell them his law

'That chief is speaking to tell them his law.'

àtiblùku ùàbla ùàte ku bèkpine fwii.

God 3s+CERT+do 3s+CERT+judge with dead all

'God will certainly act to judge all the dead.'

To a large extent the motivation for the conjunction of different sentences to form a serial construction is referential and, therefore, extra-linguistic--I can find no plausible way which is not also circular to indicate in the grammar itself that the speaker considers one event to be taking place simultaneously with another; for this reason, the following rule is intended only as a rough guide for the formation of serial verbal constructions.

T79	TIME ₁	+	NP ₁	+	VP ₁	} =====)
	TIME ₁	+	NP ₁	+	VP ₂	
	NP ₁	+	VP ₁	+	VP ₂	

It will be noted that there is no surface connective con-

joining the two Verb Phrases.

Owing partly to co-occurrence restrictions on Modality markers which apply to particular verbs, a formal presentation of the rules governing the Tense and Modality markings of verbs in serial constructions would be rather cumbersome and, I feel, not especially helpful; hence, I prefer to make the following observations informally only.

1. As stated, all verbs in a serial construction must be either all affirmative or all negative.

kòfi úyè lèna òkù.

Kofi 3s+PAS+buy meat 3s+PAS+chew

'Kofi bought the meat and ate it.'

kòfi útéye lèna útáku.

Kofi 3s+PAS+NEG+buy meat 3s+PAS+NEG+chew

'Kofi didn't buy any meat and eat it.'

*kòfi úyè lèna útáku.

*Kofi 3s+PAS+buy meat 3s+PAS+NEG+chew

*'Kofi bought meat and didn't eat it.'

ye lena ku.

2s+IMP+buy meat 2s+IMP+chew

'Buy meat and eat it!'

tèye lena tàku.

2s+IMP+NEG+buy meat 2s+IMP+NEG+chew

'Don't buy meat and eat it.'

*ye lena tàku.

*2s+IMP+buy meat 2s+IMP+NEG+chew

*'Buy meat and don't eat it!'

It should be noted, however, that the starred examples would be grammatical if the Verb Phrases were separated either by a brief interval or by nsu 'but'; however, in this case, we would have two separate sentences, rather than one single sentence with a serial verb construction.

kòfi úyè lena nsu útáku.

Kofi 3s+PAS+buy meat but 3s+PAS+NEG+chew

'Kofi bought some meat but he didn't eat any.'

ye lena. tàku.

2s+IMP+buy meat. 2s+IMP+NEG+chew.

'Buy meat! Don't eat any!'

ii. As stated, all verbs must have the same time reference and, where permitted by selectional restrictions on an individual verb's choice of Modality markers, all verbs in a serial construction must have the same markers for Modality (in addition to the markers for Negation, just discussed).

lfiiti ðsikà léekul> liliù.

1s+PAS+PROG+take knife 1s+PAS+PROG+cut yam

'I've taken a knife and cut the yam.'

àtiblùku ùàbla ùàte ku bèkpine fwii.

God 3s+CERT+do 3s+CERT+judge with dead all

'God will surely act to judge all the dead.'

*àtiblùku ùàbla ðlu>te ku bèkpine fwii.

*God 3s+CERT+do 3s+FUT+judge with dead all

*àtiblùku ðlu>bla ùàte ku bèkpine fwii.

*God 3s+FUT+do 3s+CERT+judge with dead all

àtiblùku ðlu>bla ðlu>te ku bèkpine fwii.

God 3s+FUT+do 3s+FUT+judge with dead all

'God will act to judge all the dead.'

This rule is subject to several caveats:

(a.) When a verb in a serial construction follows

the verb buse 'to go' in the Present Affirmative tense,
it is marked for the Aspect of Motion Away.

lísèlà kuye ñtéye lena ñtáku.

1s+PRES+go market 1s+GO+buy meat 1s+GO+chew

'I'm going to market to go buy meat to go eat.'

*lísèlà kuye mùùye lena m̀òkù.

*1s+PRES+go market 1s+PRES+buy meat 1s+PRES+chew

*lísèlà kuye mè'eyè lena mààku.

*1s+PRES+go market 1s+CERT+buy meat 1s+CERT+chew

(b.) When the first verb of a serial construction (or, if the first verb is baw 'to continue', the second verb) is in the affirmative but does not refer to the present time, then subsequent verbs may be in the subjunctive; this usually indicates that the purpose of the first action was to cause the second.

líyè lɛna nà kuye lèku.

1s+PAS+buy meat at market 1s+SUBJ+chew

'I bought meat at the market in order to eat it.'

mèti òfè leni ntu.

1s+CERT+take calabash 1s+SUBJ+drink water

'I'll pick up a calabash to drink water from it.'

ùtétì ðé ðni ntu.

3s+GO+take calabash 3s+SUBJ+drink water

'He's going to take a calabash to drink water from.'

ðlubù ðé bùti ðni ntu.

3s+FUT+come calabash INF+take 3s+SUBJ+drink water

'He will pick up a calabash to drink water from.'

(ðlubù ðé bùti is in the "long form" of the Affirmative General Future (see pp. 275 ff.); when the second verb in a serial construction does not refer to the purpose of the first verb, and the first verb is in the "long form" of the Affirmative General Future, then the second Verb Phrase has the form of an Infinitival Phrase,

ðlubù ðé bùti ðni ntu.

3s+FUT+come calabash INF+take INF+drink water

'He'll pick up a calabash and drink water from it.',

presumably reflecting the view that the underlying sentences are

ðlubù ðé bùti.

'He'll pick up a calabash.'

and

ðlubù ntu ðni.

'He'll drink water.')

(c.) When the first verb of a serial construction (or, if the first verb is $\text{b}\text{ɔ}\text{s}\text{ɔ}$ 'to continue', the second verb) is in the affirmative and refers to customary or habitual actions, then subsequent verbs are marked for Customary action; ^(see pp. 286-9) the Verbal Concordial prefix to these verbs marked for Customary action is obligatorily deleted.

$\text{m}\text{u}\text{u}\text{t}\text{i} \text{ ɔ}\text{s}\text{i}\text{k}\text{a} \text{ t}\text{a}\text{a}\text{k}\text{u}\text{l}\text{ɔ} \text{ l}\text{i}\text{l}\text{u}.$

1s+PRES+take knife CUST+cut yam

'I use a knife to cut the yam with.'

$\text{ɛ}\text{ɛ}\text{y}\text{e} \text{ l}\text{e}\text{n}\text{a} \text{ t}\text{a}\text{a}\text{k}\text{u}.$

2s+PRES+buy meat CUST+chew

'You buy meat in order to eat it.'

$\text{u}\text{u}\text{y}\text{u} \text{ s}\text{i}\text{k}\text{a} \text{ t}\text{e}\text{e}\text{t}\text{e} \text{ ɔ}.$

3s+PRES+steal money CUST+give you

'He steals money to give to you.'

$\text{b}\text{ɔ}\text{ɔ}\text{b}\text{l}\text{a} \text{ k}\text{u}\text{t}\text{u} \text{ t}\text{a}\text{a}\text{f}\text{w}\text{i} \text{ ɔ}.$

1p+PRES+make soup CUST+drink

'We are making soup to eat.'

This rule is referential, and does not depend on whether the verb is marked for the Modality of Progressive.

Hence, the sentence

bààṇwa animì teete mà.

3p+PRES+cook rice CUST+give them

'They cook rice to give them.'

is acceptable if it refers to a customary action, as in

bààṇwa animì teete mà uwi biara.

'They always cook rice to give them.',

but is not usually acceptable if it refers solely to an action that is taking place at the same time that the speaker is talking,

*bààṇwa animì teete mà òfayí.

*'They cook rice to give them now.',

in which case

bààṇwa animì bèetè mà òfayí.

'They are cooking rice and giving it to them now.'

is preferred. The obverse is also true, and a sentence like

*bààṇwa animì bèetè mà uwi biara.

*'They are always cooking rice and giving it to them.'

is also not acceptable. The distinction can be made a

bit clearer if we look at a verb like *bɔda* 'to hold', which can occur either in the Simple Present or in the Present Progressive. When it occurs in the Simple Present, thereby indicating that the action of the verb is not customary or habitual, subsequent verbs in serial construction are also in the Present,

nda ɔfɛ mɔɔni ntu.

1s+PRES+hold calabash 1s+PRES+drink water

'I'm holding a calabash and drinking water.',

but when it occurs in the Present Progressive, then subsequent verbs must be marked for Customary action,

mɔɔda ɔfɛ tãani ntu.

1s+PRES+PROG+hold calabash CUST+drink water

'I hold a calabash to drink water from.'

Serial verb constructions and *buti* 'to take'. The verb *buti* 'to take' is probably the commonest of the verbs which are found in serial verb constructions, where it is frequently used to give the implication of deliberate, intended action. This is clearly seen if we compare the following sentences,

líbílè lècamí.

1s+PAS+break dish

'I broke a dish.'

líbílè lècamí ku lètábi.

1s+PAS+break dish with stone

'I broke a dish with a stone.',

where the act of breaking might have been either accidental or deliberate, but is left unstated as to which, with the following sentences, which contain a serial construction,

líti lècamí líbílè.

1s+PAS+take dish 1s+PAS+break

'I took a dish and broke it.'

líti lètábi líbílè lècamí.

1s+PAS+take stone 1s+PAS+break dish

'I used a stone to break the dish.'

Here, there is no possibility that the act of breaking might have been accidental; it could only have been deliberate. Similarly, the sentence

ájwa ́cùlà kòbè nà ́ja kemo.

Adjuah 3s+PAS+burn fish on fire inside

'Adjuah burned the ^{fish} ~~fire~~ in the fire.'

does not assert that Adjuah burnt the fish deliberately, while the use of *buti* 'to take' in a serial construction does,

ájwa úti kòbè òcùlà nà òja kemo.

Adjuah 3s+PAS+take fish 3s+PAS+burn in fire inside

'Adjuah took the fish and burned them in the fire.'

In some cases, where the notion of deliberate action is not perhaps appropriate, *buti* is used as sort of an intensifier, as in

liti ònàncwi líbòkù mé.

1s+PAS+take cow 1s+PAS+bring here

'I took a cow and brought it here.'

The verb *buti* 'to take' can collocate with a great many other verbs in serial verb constructions, apparently with very few restrictions, as the following representative list (which my informant produced spontaneously within under three minutes) can testify; all verbs are in the Affirmative Simple Past, as elicited.

liti ... lívò

I borrowed without permission

liti ... lítè

I gave

lítì ... lévǎ	I lay on the ground
lítì ... létòṅkù	I sent ahead
lítì ... léblà	I used in making
lítì ... lécǎ	I put inside
lítì ... lísaṅkù	I sent with
lítì ... léslàkù	I sent after
lítì ... límènè	I posted
lítì ... lílè	I shared
lítì ... léśù	I revealed
lítì ... lékpàlà	I used in sweeping
lítì ... líwì	I poured
lítì ... lífùì	I burned
lítì ... lékùlò	I cut
lítì ... lélé	I erected
lítì ... lémánà	I glued
lítì ... lémánà	I tied (e.g., scarf, wrap)
lítì ... línyìmi	I tied together
lítì ... líflè	I used in catching

If the verb following *buti* has an object, then the object of *buti* is the instrument used in performing the action of the second verb,

lɪtɪ ʒsɪkà lékùlɔ̃ lɪlù.

1s+PAS+take knife 1s+PAS+cut yam

'I took a knife and cut the yam.'

but when the second verb has no object, then the object of buti is the entity upon which the action of the second verb is to be performed,

lɪtɪ lɪlù lékùlɔ̃.

1s+PAS+take yam 1s+PAS+cut

'I took a yam and cut it.'

Serial verb constructions and bute 'to give'. The verb bute 'to give' also occurs quite frequently in serial constructions, where it and its object denote the person on whose behalf an action is performed, as in

léblà kutu lítè múnà bànwani.

1s+PAS+make soup 1s+PAS+give my siblings

'I made soup and gave it to my brothers and sisters.'

or 'I made soup to give to my brothers and sisters.'

úsèlà kuye tèèye lèna tèète mí.

3s+PRES+go market CUST+buy meat CUST+give me

'She goes to market to buy meat to give me.' or

'She goes to market to buy meat for me.'

tàdu bakpe tête mà.

2s+IMP+NEG+kill grasscutters 2s+IMP+NEG+give them

'Don't kill grasscutters for them.'

Even though *bute* can take a double object, as in

bète mà sika.

3p+PAS+give them money

'They gave them money.'

where the first Noun Phrase functions as an Indirect Object and the second Noun Phrase functions as a Direct Object, *bute* quite commonly occurs in a serial verb construction with *buti* 'to take', as in

béti sika bète mà.

3p+PAS+take money 3p+PAS+give them

'They took money and gave it to them.'

avoiding the possibility of ambiguity in sentences like

bútè mensà lèku.

1p+PAS+give Mensah books

which can be interpreted either as "We gave Mensah's books away" or as "We gave books to Mensah."

Serial verb constructions and butulò 'to surpass'. The verb butulò 'to surpass' is used to express comparative relations of all sorts; it can occur either as the only verb of a sentence or as the final verb in a serial verb construction. In the Baglo dialect, butulò occurs as the only verb of a sentence only when the thing that the subject of the verb butulò is superior in can be expressed as a Nominal group; in this case, the person surpassed is the object of butulò and the thing he's surpassed in is the possessor of kemo 'inside' in the prepositional phrase na ... kemo .

ntulò kwamìná nà sika kemo.

1s+PRES+surpass Kwamina in money inside

'I've got more money than Kwamina.

yao utulò kwàku nà àjwi kemo.

Yao 3s+PRES+surpass Kwaku in brains inside

'Yao has more brains than Kwaku.'

ànu utulò ò nà bèlòku ku bèbi kemo.

he 3s+PRES+surpass you in wives and children inside

'He has more wives and children than you.'

(If there is no prepositional phrase following the object of butulò , then the superiority is understood to be in numbers.

banabi betulò bèlòkubi.

boys surpass girls

'There are more boys than girls.')

When butulò occurs in a serial verb construction, it always occurs last and is subject to the same constraints that apply to other verbs in serial verb constructions.

kwaku ubo mbo utulò yao.

Kwaku 3s+PRES+have size, 3s+PRES+surpass Yao

'Kwaku is bigger than Yao.'

ádi sika étulò amà.

2s+PAS+eat money 2s+PAS+surpass Ammah.

'You spent (or wasted) more money than Ammah.'

ádi sika fèètulò amà.

2s+PRES+eat money 2s+PRES+surpass Ammah.

'You spend (or waste) more money than Ammah.'

kwàsi ù̀̀kelì ù̀̀se tè̀̀ètulò kòjo.

Kwasi 3s+PRES+run race CUST+surpass Kojo

'Kwasi runs a better race than Kojo.'

àlù̀̀̀di sika àlù̀̀tulò amà.

2s+FUT+eat money 2s+FUT+surpass Ammah.

'You'll spend (or waste) more money than Ammah.'

mà̀̀̀y> lílù̀̀ mè̀̀̀ètulò animì.

1s+CERT+like yam 1s+CERT+surpass rice

'I'll like yam better than rice.'

amà ù̀̀ladi sika ù̀̀̀tulò ò.

Ammah 3s+PRES+NEG+eat money 3s+PRES+NEG+surpass you

'Ammah doesn't spend (or waste) as much money
as you.'

lékù̀̀lò lena lífè àbèna lífù̀̀lò kòjo.

1s+PAS+cut meat 1s+PAS+give Abena 1s+PAS+surpass
Kojo

'I cut more meat to give to Abena than Kojo did.'

Repetition of objects in conjoined sentences. Generally,
when a referent is the recipient of the action of more
than one verb in a serial construction, there is only one

verb in the serial construction, usually the first, which is complemented by a Noun Phrase referring to the referent, and the other verbs whose activity impinge on the referent occur without any object complement.

líyè lèna lífì lékù.

1s+PAS+buy meat 1s+PAS+roast 1s+PAS+chew

'I bought meat, roasted it, and ate it.'

?líyè lèna lífì nì lékù.

?1s+PAS+buy meat 1s+PAS+roast it 1s+PAS+chew

*líyè lèna lífì nì lékù nì.

*1s+PAS+buy meat 1s+PAS+roast it 1s+PAS+chew it

Even in conjoined sentences which do not result in serial constructions, it is a bit unusual for there to be two instances of Noun Phrases referring to a single referent and functioning as objects of verbs; I think that

líyè lèna lífì lítè yao nà ɔ̀kù

1s+PAS+buy meat 1s+PAS+roast 1s+PAS+give Yao and

3s+PAS+chew

'I bought meat, roasted it, and gave it to Yao
and he ate it.'

is considered stylistically superior to...

líyè lèna lífì lítè yao nà ɔ̀kù nì.

1s+PAS+buy meat 1s+PAS+roast 1s+PAS+give Yao

and 3s+PAS+chew it

'I bought meat, roasted it, and gave it to

Yao, and he ate it.',

although this last would still be acceptable.

Conjoining Entire Sentences

There are five words or phrases commonly used to conjoin entire sentences; these five words or phrases are

nà	and
nsù	but, however
ànu	then
ɲwa àlɔ	therefore, for this reason
anu ɔsù	bearing this in mind

In addition, there are two words used for "or"; I will discuss them separately.

There seem to be no co-occurrence restrictions on tense or aspect when two or more declarative sentences are conjoined,

léjì lena nà bɔlubò bɔkù.kɔnàdì.

1s+PAS+fry meat and 1p+FUT+come INF+chew tomorrow

'I fried meat and we'll eat it.tomorrow.'

ɔfɔdù, nsù ɲwa kɔnu kútédù.

3s+PAS+jump but his hand KO+PAS+NEG+reach.

'He jumped up, but he couldn't reach it.'

kɔfi úbúli ná ɔfɛ kɔnu.

Kofi 3s+PAS+fall-down and 3s+PAS+break arm

'Kofi fell and broke his arm.'

úti lɛdi tɛ mi ná úkɛli ɔtrɔ.

3s+PAS+take something CUST+give me and 3s+PAS+run

3s+PAS+depart

'She gave me something and ran away.'

When two affirmative imperative sentences are conjoined with na 'and', the first remains in the imperative while the verb of the second changes to a tense which appears to be the Subjunctive.

ti ɔsikà n'ɛkurɔ uɔli ɔmɔ mé ŋké

2s+IMP+take knife and+2s+SUBJ+cut stick the here Ø

'Take a cutlass and cut the stick here.'

bo vi lɛtɔ ɛtɛ ná ɛŋwùni kɔdi ànu.

2s+IMP+come 2s+IMP+cross houses three and

2s+SUBJ+turn eating hand

'Go past three houses and then turn right.'

I have no examples of the conjunction of two or more negative imperatives except in serial constructions, nor have I any examples of the conjunction of two or more questions except

in serial constructions.

On a purely impressionistic basis, it seems that Buem uses inter-sentential conjunctions rather more frequently than does English; however, much more study is needed on the topic of use of conjunctions.

The Disjunctive Conjunctions

In the Baglo dialect, there are two conjunctions, *īye* and *mùnú*, which are approximately equivalent to the "exclusive 'or'" of English; *īye* is used to conjoin declarative or imperative sentences or parallel structures within declarative or imperative sentences and, under certain conditions, can also conjoin questions or parallel structures within questions. *mùnú*, on the other hand, can conjoin only questions or parallel structures within questions. The structures that *īye* and *mùnú* can conjoin are:

- i. Entire sentences
- ii. Noun Phrases functioning as objects of a verb
- iii. Noun Phrases functioning as subjects of a verb
- iv. Prepositional Phrases, and
- v. Adverbials,

and the rule governing disjunctive conjunction is as follows: in declarative or imperative sentences, *īye* intervenes between each pair of structures to be conjoined; in questions, however, either *īye* or *mùnú* intervenes

between each pair of structures to be conjoined except for the final pair, which can be conjoined only by *mùnù* .

Conjunction of entire sentences. The following sentences illustrate the use of *ìyε* and *mùnù* in conjoining entire sentences; as far as I can tell, there are no restrictions on tenses or aspects.

ényi ɔkɔ ìyε étényi ɔkɔ.

2s+PAS+excrete lie or 2s+PAS+NEG+excrete lie

'Either you told a lie or you didn't.'

ényi ɔkɔ mùnù étényi ɔkɔ?

2s+PAS+excrete lie or 2s+PAS+NEG+excrete lie?

'Did you tell a lie or didn't you?'

ùèye kemu ìyε ùàbla ajuma nà ɔma η kemo.

3s+CERT+buy farm or 3s+CERT+do work in town inside

'Either he'll buy a farm or he'll do work in town.'

ùèye kemu mùnù ùàbla ajuma nà ɔma η kemoo?

3s+CERT+buy farm or 3s+CERT+do work in town inside?

'Will he buy a farm or will he work in town?'

ti lilu lémɔ te mi ìyε tesè.

2s+IMP+take yam that 2s+IMP+give me or 2s+IMP+GO+go

'Take that yam and give it to me or leave.'

te mi sika ɔ́mɔ̃ ɪye mǎadù ɔ̃.

2s+IMP+give me money that or 1s+CERT+kill you

'Give me the money or I'll kill you.'

Conjunction of Noun Phrases as subjects of a verb. When the subject of a Verb Phrase consists of two or more Noun Phrases conjoined by either ɪye or mǔnǔ, the Relative Verb forms must be used. The "right-most" concord, as described on pp. 372 H, does not apply.

ɔ̃ga ɔ́mɔ̃ ɪye ǎlà ɔ̃tinane ɔ́mɔ̃ mukɪsi mi.

chief that or thing teacher that REL+PRES+hate
me

'Either the chief or the teacher hates me.'

ɔ̃ga ɔ́mɔ̃ mǔnǔ ǎlà ɔ̃tinane ɔ́mɔ̃ mukɪsi mi?

chief that or thing teacher that REL+PRES+hate
me?

'Does either the chief or the teacher hate me?'

*ɔ̃ga ɔ́mɔ̃ ɪye ǎlà ɔ̃tinane ɔ́mɔ̃ ɔ̃ukɪsi mi.

*chief that or thing teacher that 3s+PRES+hate me

*ɔ̃ga ɔ́mɔ̃ ɪye ǎlà ɔ̃tinane ɔ́mɔ̃ bèekɪsi mi.

*chief that or thing teacher that 3p+PRES+hate me

mùnà àti ìyè mùnà uni nébò mé.

my father or my mother REL+PAS+come here

'Either my mother or my father came here.'

*mùnà àti ìyè mùnà uni úbò mé.

*my father or my mother 3s+PAS+come here

*mùnà àti ìyè mùnà uni bébò mé.

*my father or my mother 3p+PAS+come here

Conjunction of Noun Phrases as objects of a verb. When the object of a verb consists of two or more Noun Phrases conjoined by either *ìyè* or *mùnù*, the Noun Phrase objects may be fronted optionally, presumably for emphasis. Any verb tense may be used.

ᓃwìà lílù ìyè animì.

3s+PRES+seek yam or rice

'She's looking for either yam or rice.'

lílù ìyè animì n'ᓃwìà.

yam or rice that 3s+PRES+seek

'It's either yam or rice that she's seeking.'

bɔlɔfwɔ ʔkɔ kutu ɪɛ ɛse kutu.

1p+FUT+slurp chicken stew or goat stew

'We'll eat either chicken stew or goat stew.'

ʔkɔ kutu ɪɛ ɛse kutu na bɔlɔfwɔ.

chicken stew or goat stew that 1p+FUT+slurp

'It's either chicken stew or goat stew that

we'll eat.'

bísèlà borada m̀̀ǹ̀ǹ̀ lisemi?

2p+PRES+go Borada or Teteman?

'Are you going to Borada or to Teteman?'

borada m̀̀ǹ̀ǹ̀ lisemi na bísèlàà?

Borada or Teteman that 2p+PRES+go?

'Is it to Borada or to Teteman that you're going?'

m̀̀ǹ̀ǹ̀ ule ɔ̀̀yɔ kɔdi kɔmɛ ɪɛ kɔdi kɔnvɔ ɪɛ

kɔdi kɔnjɛ.

my wife 3s+PRES+like cloth this or cloth that or

cloth yonder

'My wife wants either this cloth, that cloth,

or the other one.'

Conjunction of Noun Phrases as objects of prepositions.

ìyε and mùnú can be used to conjoin two or more Noun Phrases which are the objects of a preposition.

Ṣṣbla mi nà lénú ḥ nà hohoi ìyε jásikàn.

3s+PRES+make me that 1s+PAS+see him in Hohoe
or Jasikan

'It seems to me that I saw him in either Hohoe
or Jasikan.'

úkpò kù kwèsi ìyε kwaminà.

3s+PAS+fight with Kwasi or Kwamina

'He fought with either Kwasi or Kwamina.'

úklù lílú lénvṣ kù Ṣklantiē ìyε Ṣsikà.

3s+PAS+cut yam that with cutlass or knife

'He cut that yam with either a cutlass or a knife.'

The use of ìyε and mùnú in questions. mùnú always used to conjoin the final pair of Noun Phrases in a question; earlier pairs of Noun Phrases, however, can be conjoined by either mùnú or ìyε in questions.

ᵊwɪà lɪlù ìyɛ animì m̀ǹǹ ᵊbànciì?

ᵊwɪà lɪlù m̀ǹǹ animì m̀ǹǹ ᵊbànciì?

3s+PRES+seek yam or rice or cassava?

'Is she looking for yam, for rice, or for cassava?'

àk>k> kutu ìyɛ èsɛ kutu m̀ǹǹ k>betu nà b̀l̀fwi>>?

àk>k> kutu m̀ǹǹ èsɛ kutu m̀ǹǹ k>betu nà b̀l̀fwi>>?

chicken stew or goat stew or fish-stew that

1p+FUT+slurp?

'Is it chicken stew, goat stew, or fish stew

that we'll eat?'

m̀ǹǹ àti ìyɛ m̀ǹǹ uni m̀ǹǹ ùcwɛdi m̀m̀ǹ nébò méé?

m̀ǹǹ àti m̀ǹǹ m̀ǹǹ uni m̀ǹǹ ùcwɛdi m̀m̀ǹ nébò méé?

my father or my mother or person other REL+PAS+come

here?

'Did my mother or my father or anybody else

come here?'

Sequence of Tenses

The tense of the verbs in an embedded sentence is conditioned by the relationship between the time of the action of the embedded sentence and the time of the action of the matrix sentence. The following principles govern the sequence of tenses in complex sentences:

- i. If the action of the embedded sentence takes place at the same time as the action of the matrix sentence, and the time of the action of the matrix sentence is not the future, then the verbs of the embedded sentence are in the Present tense and the verbs of the matrix sentence are in the Present tense if the action is still continuing; otherwise, the verbs of the matrix sentence are in the Past. It should be noted, however, that the Simple Present tense may be used in the embedded sentence only if the action of the embedded sentence is still going on.

mùutè mà līgulabi ́sika bààṅwa kana.

1s+PRES+give them money because 3p+PRES+cook
porridge

'I'm giving them money because they are
cooking porridge.'

lítè mà līgulabi ́sika bààṅwa kana.

1s+PAS+give them money because 3p+PRES+cook
porridge

'I gave them money because they were cooking
porridge.'

mùná ubi ́ma ́sika ṅkweni ũ.

my baby 3s+PRES+laugh because 1s+PRES+carry him

'My baby is laughing because I'm carrying him
piggy-back.'

mùná ubi ́ma ́sika m̀́kweni ũ.

my baby 3s+PAS+laugh because 1s+PRES+carry him

'My baby laughed because I was carrying him
piggy-back.'

*mùná ubi ́ma ́sika ṅkweni ũ.

- ii. If the action of the embedded sentence takes place
before the action of the matrix sentence, and the time of

the action of the matrix sentence is not the future, then the verbs of the embedded sentence are almost invariably in the Past Progressive (if the verbs are in the affirmative), and the verbs of the matrix sentence are in the Present if the action of the matrix sentence is still continuing; otherwise, the verbs of the matrix sentence are in the Simple Past.

mùutè mà lìgulabi òsika báanwa kana.

1s+PRES+give them money because 3p+PAS+PROG+cook
porridge

'I'm giving them money because they have cooked
porridge.'

lìtè mà lìgulabi òsika báanwa kana.

1s+PRS+give them money because 3p+PAS+PROG+cook
porridge

'I gave them money because they had cooked
porridge.'

Occasionally, the Simple Past is used in the embedded sentence; however, I feel that this occurs primarily in casual speech, and even then only rarely.

?mùutè mà lìgulabi ́sika bánwà kana.

?1s+PRES+give them money because 3p+PAS+cook
porridge

? 'I'm giving them money because they cooked
porridge.'

iii. If the time of the action of the matrix sentence is in the future, then the tenses of the verbs in both the matrix sentence and the embedded sentence are the same as they would be if all the sentences were independent sentences; however, if the time of the embedded sentence is the future, then more often than not the Future Certainty is used rather than the Simple Future, at least in its reduced forms.

mèetè mà lìgulabi ́sika bánwà kana.

1s+CERT+give them money because 3p+PAS+cook
porridge

'I'll give them money because they cooked
porridge.'

mèetè mà lìgulabi ́sika bàànwà kana.

1s+CERT+give them money because 3p+PRES+cook
porridge.'

'I'll give them money because they are
cooking porridge.'

mèetè mà lìgulabi ́sika bàlubò kana bɔ́ŋwa.

1s+CERT+give them money because 3p+FUT+come
porridge INF+cook

'I'll give them money because they'll cook
porridge.'

mèètè mà lìgulabi ́sika bàaŋwà kana.

1s+CERT+give them money because 3p+CERT+cook
porridge.'

'I'll give them money because they'll cook
porridge.'

Similarly, if the time of the action of the embedded sentence is in the future, all verbs have the same tenses that they would have in independent sentences.

lítè mà lìgulabi ́sika bàlubò kana bɔ́ŋwa.

1s+PAS+give them money because 3p+FUT+come
porridge INF+cook

'I gave them money because they will cook
porridge.'

lítě mà lìgulabi ɔ́sika bátánwa kana.

1s+PAS+give them money because 3p+GO+cook
porridge

'I'gave them money because they are/were
going to cook porridge.'

iv. Notwithstanding the above, if the verb of the matrix sentence entails a sentential complement whose verbs must be in the Subjunctive, then the verbs of the embedded sentence will be in the Subjunctive. (See the following section.)

Sentences as Complements

There is a small number of verbs which take subordinate sentences as their complements. In most cases, these subordinate sentences have their verbs in the Subjunctive, and in some cases, the subordinate sentences are introduced by *kà* 'that'. As far as I can determine, the only verb, other than those introducing indirect discourse, which is complemented by a subordinate sentence not in the Subjunctive is *bɔ̀dɪa* 'to be good':

ɔ̀dɪa bu kà amà ɔ̀ŋwà bùà adilà.

3s+PRES+be-good us that Ammah 3s+PAS+cook our
food

'It's good for us that Ammah cooked our food.'

ɔ̀dɪa bu kà amà ɔ̀àŋwà bùà adilà.

3s+PRES+be-good us that Ammah 3s+CERT+cook
our food

'It's good for us that Ammah will cook our
food.'

Two verbs, *bɔ̀bɔ̀mɔ̀di* 'to try' and *bɔ̀kana* 'to be able', can be complemented either by an Infinitival Phrase or by

a subordinate sentence in the Subjunctive whose underlying subject is identical to the subject of the verb of the matrix sentence:

mabɔmɔdi litiã lɛlɛmɪ lɛdi.

1s+PRES+try 1s+SUBJ+learn Lɛlɛmɪ language

'I'm trying to learn the Lɛlɛmɪ language.'

kwãmi ɔbɔmɔdi ùtiã lɛlɛmɪ lɛdi.

Kwame 3s+try 3s+SUBJ+learn Lɛlɛmɪ language

'Kwame is trying to learn the Lɛlɛmɪ language.'

mabɔmɔdi bɔtiã lɛlɛmɪ lɛdi.

1s+PRES+try INF+learn Lɛlɛmɪ language

'I'm trying to learn the Lɛlɛmɪ language.'

One verb, bɔyã 'to permit', is complemented by an animate object followed by a subordinate sentence in the Subjunctive:

ɔyã mi hɛbla.

3s+PAS+allow me 1s+SUBJ+work

'He let me work.'

mɔɔya kɔfi ùŋwã kamu.

1s+PRES+permit Kofi 3s+SUBJ+harvest rice

'I'm letting Kofi harvest rice.'

There are several other verbs which take sentences in the Subjunctive and introduced by *kà* ; these verbs include

<i>bɔyɔ</i>	'to <i>lɔkɔ</i> '
<i>bɔwɪà</i>	'to want'
<i>bɔfɔ</i>	'to be necessary'
<i>bɔdi</i>	'to be necessary'
<i>bɔhia</i>	'to be important',

as exemplified by:

mɔyɔ kà lɪtià àlà.

1s+PRES+want that 1s+SUBJ+learn things

'I want to learn things.'

mɔyɔ kà kɔfi ùtià àlà.

1s+PRES+want that Kofi 3s+SUBJ+learn things

'I want Kofi to learn.'

ɔhia kà kɔfi ùtià àlà.

3s+PRES+be-important that Kofi 3s+SUBJ+learn things

'It's important for Kofi to learn.'

Indirect Discourse

All four types of sentence--declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory--can occur as the complement of a verb of speaking, hearing, or other mental activity, although there are restrictions as to which type of sentence can occur as the complement of particular verbs and, in addition, there are restrictions on the ordering of the verbs of speaking depending on the type of sentence which complements them. In general, the principles governing sequence of tenses in embedded sentences, as described on pp. 409 ff, apply to embedded sentences in indirect discourse as well.

Indirect Statements. When a declarative sentence follows a verb of perception such as bɔnu 'to see', bunu 'to hear', bɔti 'to know', ʔjwi buti 'to have in mind', etc., thereby forming an indirect statement, it is introduced by ka .

lénù ka múnà ùlèni ùùye lèna.

1s+PAS+see that my wife 3s+PRES+buy meat

'I saw that my wife was buying meat.'

lénù ka múnà ùlèni úuye lèna.

1s+PAS+see that my wife 3s+PAS+PROG+buy meat

'I saw that my wife had bought meat.'

únù ka lèlèdì léblà "kpáà."

3s+PAS+hear that thing+certain LE+PAS+make "Bang!"

'She heard something go "Bang!"'

nji ka àcampòŋ ààbla ñwà kàlàbla.

1s+PRES+know that Acheampong 3s+CERT+do his work

'I know that Acheampong will do his work.'

nji ka àawlà fùà leku.

1s+PRES+know that 2s+PRES+seek your books

'I know that you're looking for your books.'

létíà ka bàlèmi bàca Hohoé kù kèjèbì ñtè.

1s+PAS+learn that Buem 3p+PRES+live Hohoe and

Kadjebi between

'I learned that the Buem live between Hohoe
and Kadjebi.'

àtanu ka kutu kómě kúbíee?

2s+PAS+NEG+see that soup that KO+PAS+get-spoiled?

'Didn't you see that the soup got spoiled?'

There are three verbs of speaking which are commonly used before indirect statements: b̀təm̀ 'to speak', b̀su 'to tell', and b̀ni 'to say'. The verb b̀təm̀ 'to speak' cannot immediately precede an indirect statement, but can be used in a serial construction with other verbs of speech. The verb b̀su 'to tell' can occur either in a serial construction with other verbs of speech or by itself; if b̀su occurs by itself, it must be followed by an animate object and the indirect statement must be introduced by ka .

básù mà ka léenwa anim̀.

3p+PAS+tell them that 1s+PAS+PROG+cook rice

'They were told that I had cooked rice.'

b̀̀su bùl̀ bakpana ka kòfi ́cà eli ̀l̀.

1p+PRES+tell our friends that Kofi 3s+PAS+score
heads five

'We are telling our friends that Kofi scored
five goals.'

The verb *bɔni* 'to say' is the commonest of the verbs of speaking, occurring before the vast majority of indirect statements, either by itself or in a serial construction. It takes no object other than the indirect statement itself, which is not introduced by any conjunction.

yao ɔnɪ bātánù ɲ.

Yao 3s+PAS+say 3p+PAS+NEG+see him

'Yao said they didn't see him.'

bánɪ mǎnǎ bǎti básɪ ǎsǎnti kama.

3p+PAS+say their fathers 3p+PAS+come-from

Asanti back

'They say their fathers came from in back
of the Ashanti.'

ɲtánɪ èèye kɔdi kɔnvɔ.

1s+PAS+NEG+say 2s+PRES+buy cloth that

'I didn't say you were buying that cloth.'

Generally, verbs of speaking preceding an indirect statement are grouped together in a serial construction, with the verb *bɔni* 'to say' coming last. So far, I have identified the following combinations:

1. bɔ̀tɛ̀mɪ bɔ̀ni

bátɛ̀mɪ bání báwùrɔ̀ ɲwa kàlàbla.

3p+PAS+speak 3p+PAS+say 3p+PAS+finish his work

'They said that they finished his work.'

ii. bɔ̀su bɔ̀ni

básù ɲ bání báàwùrɔ̀ ɲwa kàlàbla.

3p+PAS+tell him 3p+PAS+say 3p+PAS+PROG+finish

his work

'They told him they'd finished his work.'

iii. bɔ̀tɔ̀mɪ bɔ̀su bɔ̀ni

bátɛ̀mɪ básù ɲ bání báàwùrɔ̀ ɲwa kàlàbla.

3p+PAS+speak 3p+PAS+tell him 3p+PAS+say

3p+PAS+PROG+finish his work

'They spoke to tell him that they had finished
his work.'

Indirect Questions. Indirect questions follow bɔ̀su

'to tell', which can occur either by itself or in a serial construction following bɔ̀ni 'to say'.

When a yes-no question is embedded to form an indirect question, it loses the characteristic lengthening

of the final syllable and is introduced by si 'if'.

áabla kutuu?

2s+PAS+PROG+make stew?

'Have you made stew?'

ʒsù si áabla kutu.

ʒs+PAS+ask if 2s+PAS+PROG+make stew

'She asked if you'd made stew.'

ɲwa ɛ̀se ʒ̀kù bùlà ʒ̀ntaa?

his goat ʒs+PRES+chew our corn?

'Is his goat eating our corn?'

ʒ̀nɪ ʒ̀sù mɪ si ɲwa ɛ̀se ʒ̀ku bùlà ʒ̀nta.

ʒs+PAS+say ʒs+PAS+tell me if his goat ʒs+PAS+chew
out corn

'He asked me if his goat was eating our corn.'

A question which uses an interrogative word as a direct question also loses the characteristic lengthening of the final syllable when it becomes embedded; otherwise there is no change, other than those conditioned by sequence of tenses, when it becomes embedded.

bi n'aayɔɔ?

what that '2s+PRES+want?

'What do you want?'

léni lésu bi n'àâyɔ.

1s+PAS+say 1s+PAS+ask what that '2s+PRES+want

'I asked what you wanted.'

ɔma nèèboo?

who REL+PAS+come?

'Who came?'

ɔɔni ɔɔsu ɔma nèèbo.

ɔs+PRES+say ɔs+PRES+ask who REL+PAS+come

'He's asking who came.'

bi ɔsu bɔɔbla bùlà kàlàbla na kale kánvɔɔ?

what reason 1p+PRES+make our work in way that?

'Why do we do our work like that?'

mɔɔni mɔɔsu bi ɔsu bɔɔbla bùlà kàlàbla na kale kánvɔ.

1s+PRES+say 1s+PRES+tell what reason 1p+PRES+make

our work in way that

'I'm asking why we do our work like that.'

Indirect commands. Indirect commands follow bɔsu 'to tell' and are introduced by nə ; the verbs of the indirect command are in the Subjunctive. It is likely that the underlying structure of an indirect command is a declarative sentence in the Subjunctive rather than an imperative; however, for present purposes, the underlying source is irrelevant. The following sentences will illustrate indirect commands.

ɔsù mà nə bèbò.

3s+PAS+tell them that 3p+SUBJ+come

'He told them to come.'

ɔsù bàlà ɔti nə ùbò.

3s+PAS+tell their father that 3s+SUBJ+come

'He told their father to come.'

ɔsù mi nə lɪbò.

3s+PAS+tell me that 1s+SUBJ+come

'He told me to come.'

I have not yet been able to determine whether sentences like

?sù nà bàlà òti ùbò.

?3s+PAS+tell that their father 3s+SUBJ+come

? 'He said that their father should come.'

or

?sù kòfi nà ñwa òti ùbò.

?3s+PAS+tell Kofi that his father 3s+SUBJ+come

? 'He told Kofi that his father should come.'

are acceptable,

although I feel that the latter sentence would be much more acceptable than the former.

Indirect interjections. Indirect interjections generally follow bɔni 'to say'; they are not introduced by any conjunction.

ɔni "kpam!"

3s+PAS+say "Bang!"

'She said "Bang!"'

Subordinate Clauses

I have identified five types of subordinate clause:

- i. the "if" clause,
- ii. the causal clause,
- iii. the time clause,
- iv. the purpose clause, and
- v. the "as if" clause.

By far, the commonest types of subordinate clause are the causal clause, the time clauses, and one sub-type of "if" clause, the general "if" clause; the other types of subordinate clause are rather rare.

"If" clauses. All "if" clauses are introduced by *si* (by *sa* , in the Okajakrom dialect of Lëfana) 'if', occurring either by itself as the only subordinate conjunction or with some other connective. There are three types of "if" clause:

- i. the general "if" clause, introduced by *si* alone,

ii. the contrary-to-fact clause, introduced by si , with the main clause introduced by ñkà 'then', and

iii. the "only if" clause, which is introduced by *ñtu si* 'only if'; the main clause is often introduced by *ásà* 'before'.

The general "if" clause is by far the commonest of the "if" clauses and expresses simple cause-and-effect relationships. Like other subordinate clauses, general "if" clauses usually precede the main clause; however, general "if" clauses may follow the main clause optionally.

$$T80 \quad si \quad + \quad Sent_1 \quad + \quad Sent_2 \quad \overset{opt}{=====})$$
$$\text{Sent}_2 + \text{si} + \text{Sent}_1$$

si àáyɔ̀, àkana bùye múnà aḡalà.

if 2s+PRES+want, 2s+PRES+can INF+buy my eggs

'If you want to, you can buy my eggs.' or

àkàna búyè múnà avalà sì àáyɔ.

2s+PRES+can INF+buy my eggs if 2s+PRES+want

'You can buy my eggs if you want to.'

Any tense or aspect form can be used in a general "if" clause; however, if the "if" clause refers to a future event, it seems that the Future Certainty is used more frequently than the General Future, although both

si jɔrj ɔ̃aŋwà kutu, ɔ̃lubò buye kù.

if George 3s+CERT+cook stew, 3s+FUT+come

INF+buy it

'If George cooks stew, she will buy some.'

and

si jɔrj ɔ̃lubò bɔŋwa kutu, ɔ̃lubò buye kù.

if George 3s+FUT+come INF+cook stew,

3s+FUT+come INF+buy it

'If George cooks stew, she will buy some.'

are acceptable. General "if" clauses can be further exemplified by the following:

si líyù sika ni, àlùbòtì.

if 1s+PAS+steal money comma, 2s+FUT+INF+know

'If I stole money, you'll know it.'

si líyù sika ni, átì.

if 1s+PAS+steal money,comma, 2s+PAS+know

'If I stole money, you knew it.' or

'When I stole money, you knew it.'

si f'ɔ̃wani úkpɪ ni, àkana n'èti ulòkudi.

if your+brother 3s+PAS+die comma, 2s+PRES+can

na+2s+SUBJ+marry woman+certain

'If your brother is dead, you can marry

his wife.'

si àanyà ni, nyáà ɔ̃wà ɔ̃gbà alɔ.

si 2s+PRES+trod comma, then 2s+PRES+cut

foot bottom

'If you step on it, then it'd cut the soles

of your feet.' or

'When you step on it, it cuts the soles of

your feet.'

Finally, the general "if" clause, with appropriate negation, functions as the equivalent of the English "unless" clause in Lèlɛmi.

si èlèye àdila, kɔka kɔ̃lɔ̃du bu.

if 2s+FUT+NEG+buy food, hunger KO+FUT+bite us

'If you don't buy food, we'll be hungry.' or

'Unless you buy food, we'll be hungry.'

Lèfana speakers prefer to use the Twi word jise 'unless'

instead in order to express the notion of "unless."

jise àlùye àdila, kaka kɔ̀lùdu bu.

unless 2s+FUT+buy food, hunger KO+FUT+bite us

'Unless you buy food, we'll be hungry.'

The contrary-to-fact clause seems to occur only sentence initially. Within the contrary-to-fact clause itself, I have noted the use only of the Simple Past tense, with or without infinitival emphasis; within the main clause, I have noted the use only of the General Future and the Simple Past tenses, although given a suitable context I suspect that the Present tense might also be used.

T81 SD: si + X + TN + Y + ńkà + Z

SC: si + X + PAS + Y + ńkà + Z

si líyù sika ní, ńkà ɔ̀tì.

if 1s+PAS+steal money comma, then 3s+PAS+know

'If I had stolen any money, then he would have known about it.'

si buye nà úyè lílù, ñkà nnuyu nì
 if INF+buy that 3s+PAS+buy yam, then
 1s+FUT+steal it

'If she had bought yam, then I'd steal it.'

si b=ñwa nà 3ñwà kutu, ñkà lédì kù.
 if INF+cook stew that 3s+PAS+cook stew, then
 1s+PAS+eat it

'If she had cooked stew, then I'd have eaten
 eat.'

si bùbò nà úbò, ñkà lénù ñ.
 if INF+come that 3s+PAS+come, then 1s+PAS+see
 him

'If he had come, then I would have seen him.'

The aspect of Certainty may not be used in the main clause
 of a sentence containing a contrary-to-fact clause.

*si líyù sika ni, ñkà ùàti.

if 1s+PAS+steal money, comma, then 3s+CERT+know

*'If I had stolen money, then he will know it.'

My corpus contains only one instance of an "only if"
clause; in this one example, the verb of the subordinate

clause is in the Simple Past, while the verb of the main clause is marked for Certainty.

ñtu si lénwà ni, ásà ùàdi.

only if 1s+PAS+cook comma, before 3s+CERT+eat

'She'll eat only if I cooked.'

The Causal clause. The causal clause is introduced by *śika* 'because'; like the general "if" clause, the causal clause can either precede or follow the main clause.

T82 *śika* + Sent₁ + Sent₂ ^{opt} =====)

Sent₂ + *śika* + Sent₁

śika líbò, lénù ñ.

because 1s+PAS+come, 1s+PAS+see him

'Because I came, I saw him.' or

lénù ñ *śika* líbò.

1s+PAS+see him because 1s+PAS+come

'I saw him because I came.'

As far as I can determine, there are no restrictions on the tenses or aspects which can occur in causal clauses

other than those described under "Sequence of Tenses,"
pp. 409 ff .

śsika báanwa kana, lítè mà lìgulabi.

because 3p+PAS+PROG+cook porridge, 1s+PAS+give
them money

'Because they had cooked porridge, I gave
them money.'

śsika bánwà kana, lítè mà lìgulabi.

because 3p+PAS+cook porridge, 1s+PAS+give
them money.

'Because they cooked porridge, I gave them
money.'

śsika bàanwa kana, lítè mà lìgulabi.

because 3p+PRES+cook porridge, 1s+PAS+give
them money

'Because they were cooking porridge, I gave
them money.'

śsika bátánwa kana, lítè màalìgulabi.

because 3p+GO+cook porridge, 1s+PAS+give
them money

'Because they're going to cook porridge, I
gave them money.'

Śsika bàtánwà kana, lítè mà lìgulabi.

because 3p+PAS+NEG+cook porridge, 1s+PAS+give
them money

'Because they didn't cook porridge, I gave
them money.'

Śsika bàànwà kana, mùutè mà lìgulabi.

because 3p+PRES+cook porridge, 1s+PRES+give
them money

'Because they're cooking porridge, I'm giving
them money.'

Śsika bàànwà kana, mèetè mà lìgulabi.

because 3p+PRES+cook porridge, 1s+FUT+give
them money

'Because they're cooking porridge, I'll
give them money.'

Śsika bàànwà kana, nèète mà lìgulabi.

because 3p+PRES+cook porridge, 1s+FUT+NEG+give
them money

'Because they're cooking porridge, I won't
give them any money.'

etc.

In addition to the causal clause introduced by *śika* 'because', it is possible to introduce a causal clause by *ñàka* 'although'. Causal clauses introduced by *ñàka* 'although' have the same properties as those introduced by *śika* 'because'; causal clauses introduced by *ñàka* 'although', however, occur quite infrequently.

ñàka báaŋwa kana, lítè mà lìgulabi.

although 3p+PAS+PROG+cook porridge,

1s+PAS+give them money

'Although they cooked porridge, I gave
them money.'

The time clause. There are two types of time clause:

i. the "as" clause, used for actions taking place at the same time as the action of the main clause and which is introduced by *ka* 'when, while, as', and

ii. the "before" clause, used for actions taking place before the action of the main clause and which is introduced by *ásà nà* or, depending on idiolect, *ánsè nà* 'before!.

There are no "after" clauses in Buem; instead, the earlier event goes into a "before" clause, and the later event goes into a main clause, so that the Buem equivalent of "After, he saw me, he went home." would be

ásà nà úsè kadruì, ònù mi.

before that 3s+PAS+go home, 3s+PAS+see me

'Before he went home, he saw me.'

Generally, "as" clauses and "before" clauses both precede the main clause; however, both may follow the main clause as an optional, stylistic variant.

T83 $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ka} \\ \text{ásà nà} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Sent}_1 + \text{Sent}_2 \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{opt} \\ \text{=====) } \end{array}$

$\text{Sent}_2 + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ka} \\ \text{ásà nà} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Sent}_1$

ònù mi ásà nà úsè kadruì.

3s+PAS+see me before that 3s+PAS+go home

'He saw me before he went home.'

There are a number of tense and aspect restrictions involved in the use of time clauses. The tense of "as" clauses must be co-referential with that of the main

clause:

i. If the "as" clause is marked for aspect (other than negation) or futurity, then the main clause must also be marked for aspect of for futurity.

ka ùablà kutu, b̀̀lubb̀̀ animì b̀̀nwa.

as 3s+CERT+make stew, 1p+FUT+come rice INF+cook

'As he makes stew, we'll cook rice.'

ka ùablà kutu, busèl̀̀ bú tánwa animì.

as 3s+CERT+make stew, 1p+PRES+go 1p+GO+cook rice

'As he makes stew, we'll go and cook rice.'

ka útábla kutu, b̀̀lù̀̀nwa animì.

as 3s+GO+make stew, 1p+FUT+cook rice

'While he goes to make stew, we'll cook rice.'

ii. If the "as" clause is in the Present Progressive, then the main clause must be either in the Present or the Simple Past.

ka ò̀̀nwa animì, b̀̀̀bla kutu.

as 3s+PRES+cook rice, 1p+PRES+make stew

'While she cooks rice, we're making stew.'

ka bàatèmi bù, bùunu.

as 3p+PRES+speak-to us, 1p+PRES+hear

'When they speak to us, we listen.'

ka 3bwa animi, b3blà kutu.

as 3s+PRES+cook rice, 1p+PAS+make stew

'While she was cooking rice, we made stew.'

ka bàatèmi bu, búnù.

as 3p+PRES+speak-to us, 1p+PAS+hear

'While they were talking to us, we listened.'

iii. If the "as" clause is in the past, then the main clause must also be in the past.

ka 3wa animi, b3blà kutu.

as 3s+PAS+cook rice, 1p+PAS+make stew

'While she cooked rice, we made stew.'

ka bátèmi bù, búnù.

as 3p+PAS+speak-to, 1p+PAS+hear

'When they spoke to us, we listened.'

In addition, the sequence of tenses rules, as discussed on pp 409 ff, apply to "before" clauses.

The purpose clause. Purpose clauses always follow the main clause of the sentence; they are introduced by *kàná* 'so that' and their verbs are marked for the aspect of Certainty, regardless of the tense of the main clause.

T84 *kàná* + *Sent₁* + *Sent₂* =====)

Sent₂ + *kàná* + *Sent₁*

líyè lèna kàná múnà ubi ùàku.

1s+PAS+buy meat so-that my child 3s+CERT+ehew

'I bought meat so that my child might eat.'

mùùye lèna kàná múnà ubi ùàku.

1s+PRES+buy meat so-that my child 3s+CERT+ehew

'I'm buying meat so that my child might eat.'

ñdubù buye lèna kàná múnà ubi ùàku.

1s+FUT+come INF+buy meat so-that my child

3s+CERT+ehew

'I'll buy meat so that my child might eat.'

lísèlà kuye ntéye lèna kàná múnà ubi ùàku.

1s+PRES+go market 1s+GO+buy meat so-that

my child 3s+CERT+chew

'I'm going to market to buy meat so that

my child might eat.'

lítèmi mí múnà etemila kànà biàti nwa kalala.

1s+PAS+tell you my case so-that 2p+CERT+know

his mischief

'I told you my business so that you'd know

of his mischief.'

The "as if" clause. The "as if" clause always follows the main clause of the sentence; it is introduced by àni si or, depending on the speaker's idiolect, àni ka 'as if, as though'. The verb of the "as if" clause may be marked for any tense or aspect.

T85 $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{àni si} \\ \text{àni ka} \end{array} \right\} \text{Sent}_1 + \text{Sent}_2 \quad \text{=====})$

$\text{Sent}_2 + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{àni si} \\ \text{àni ka} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Sent}_1$

bùùdu bakpe àni si bùùkisi ma.

1p+PRES+kill grasscutters as if 1p+PRES+hate them

'We kill grasscutters as if we hate them.'

use àni ka k-ka k-nda ũ.

3s+PRES+go as though hunger KO+PRES+sting him

'He looks as though he's hungry.'

Ṣṓdì ànì si ùtádì tṓ kṓbulì kúnwí méní.

3s+PRES+eat as if 3s+PAS+NEG+eat yet month
one this

'He's eating as though he hadn't eaten for
a month.'

Ṣdà lèlṓ ànì si kṓkwà n'úsè.

3s+PAS+hold body as if funeral that+3s+PAS+go

'He dressed up as though it was a funeral
that he was going to.'

Ṣṓtèṃì ànì ka ṓga n'ṓdì.

3s+PRES+speak as if chief that+3s+PRES+be

'He speaks as though he were a chief.'

Juncture phenomenon. There are certain juncture phenomena which can occur when a subordinate clause precedes a main clause. The most common of these juncture phenomena is the insertion of *ni*, 'the oral comma, at the end of the subordinate clause; this is discussed more thoroughly on pp 445 H. The next most common juncture phenomenon occurs when the final word of the subordinate clause is a verb whose final syllable is on a Mid tone;

in this case, the final syllable is prolonged and converted to a Mid-Low glide:

si àâyᵐᵐ, àkana n'èti ulòkudi,

if 2s+PRES+want, 2s+PRES+can that+2s+SUBJ+marry
woman+certain

'If you want to, you can marry his wife.'

There may be other juncture phenomena involved in connection with subordinate clauses; however, these would occur much more infrequently than the two types just mentioned or the absence of any juncture phenomenon.

Part VII. Emphasis

The "Oral Comma," ni

The use of the "oral comma," ni , is by far the commonest means of emphasising or highlighting a Noun Phrase or a subordinate clause; in 60 lines of connected text, ni occurs 33 times. While the use of ni is optional in all cases, there are, for example, relatively few sentence-initial subordinate clauses which lack ni at the end.

ka b̥ta nv̥ ni, aṇu bubàl̥ ṇ̥tsiɛ.

when 1p+PRES+rise there ni, then 1p+COME+rest

Notsie

'When we migrated from there, we came to
settle at Notsie.'

si àanyà ni, nyáà ɔ̥ṇwà ɔ̥gbà alɔ̥.

if 2s+PRES+tread ni, then 3s+PRES+cut foot

bottom

'If you stepped on it, it'd cut the sole
of your foot.'

si f'ɔ̃wani úkpì ni, àkana n'èti ulòkudi.
 if your+brother 3s+PAS+die ni, 2s+PRES+can
 that+2s+SUBJ+take woman+certain
 'If your brother is dead, you can marry
 his wife.'

The "oral comma", ni , is also used to set off the grammatical subject of the sentence as a sort of appositive, with the approximate translation meaning of "As for ..."

bùlà lèdi nɔ̃ ni, lèca nɔ̃ k'ɔ̃mwì.
 our language there ni, LE+PRES+be-at there
 as+today
 'As for our language there, it's still
 there today.'

àbu bagòlò ni, abu nákpè kama.
 we Baglos ni, we REL+PAS+lag back
 'As for us Baglos, we stayed behind.'

ni can also be used to emphasise fronted adverbials.

kèsia b'ɔ̃sì ni, b'ɔ̃sì àsànti kama kèsiàdì.
 where 1p+PAS+come-from ni, 1p+PAS+come-from
 Ashanti back somewhere

'As for where we come from, we came from
somewhere behind the Ashanti.'

kùkù ni, bèlòku nataàsìà ku bànnà kemo.
old-times ni, women REL+PAS+CUST+follow
with men farm

'In the olden days, women used to follow
men to farm.'

aṇu limeì lédì ni, unì kù ɔti bátrɔ̀ bésè kemo.
then day certain ni, mother and father
3p+PAS+depart 3p+PAS+go farm

'Then, on a certain day, the mother and
father left to go to farm.'

Finally, ni is occasionally used at the end of
a sentence which makes a definition or which identifies
some entity; presumably, ni is used for this instead
of the verb bɔ̀di 'to be'.

ebuo ɔni bádu káfè ni.

animal which 3p+PAS+kill antelope ni

'The animal that was killed is an antelope.'

bècwiri bèeliè bale kù bàfana nte bòwilli ni.

people 3p+PRES+live Santrokofi and Bàfana

between Bowiris ni

'The people who live between the Santrokofi
and the Bàfana are the Bowiri.'

Emphasis of a Noun Phrase

A Noun Phrase is generally emphasised when it is part of the response to a question. To some extent, the form of Noun Phrase emphasis varies with negation; this is discussed on pp. 453ff .

Emphasis of the subject of a verb. To stress the fact that a particular person or thing ~~said~~ or did not perform a particular action, the Relative Verb forms, as discussed on pp. 324 ff , are used, and the examples used to illustrate the Relative Verb forms will also illustrate emphasis of the subject of a verb.

Emphasis of the object of a verb. The object of the main verb of a sentence can be emphasised by "fronting" it, or placing it at the beginning of the sentence, and following the transposed object by na 'that',

1a. àkɔsuà ɔ̀kùlà kɔ̀bɛ̀. + EMPH =====)

Akosuah 3s+PRES+smoke fish

'Akosuah is smoking fish.'

- b. kɔ̀bɛ̀ nà àlɔ̀suà ɔ̀kùlà.
 fish that Akosuah 3s+PRES+smoke
 'It's fish that Akosuah is smoking.'
- 2a. mɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀ lɪgɪlabi. + EMPH =====)
 1s+PRES+like money
 'I like money.'
- b. lɪgɪlabi nà mɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀.
 money that 1s+PRES+like
 'It's money that I like.'
- 3a. bɔ̀lɔ̀ŋwa ɔ̀nta. + EMPH =====)
 1p+FUT+harvest corn
 'We'll harvest corn.'
- b. ɔ̀nta nà bɔ̀lɔ̀ŋwa.
 corn that 1p+FUT+harvest
 'It's corn that we'll harvest.'

If a verb is capable of taking two objects, then only the second can be fronted.

- 4a. lɪtè mà ɔ̀ku. + EMPH =====)
 1s+PAS+give them book
 'I gave them a book.'

b. ɔku nà lɪtɛ mǎ.

book that 1s+PAS+give them

'It was a book that I gave them.'

c. *àma nà lɪtɛ ɔku.

*they that 1s+PAS+give book

*'It was them that I gave a book to.'

5a. maik ɔtɪnǎ frakofo àkɔntǎ. + EMPH =====)

Mike 3s+PAS+teach Franco+students math

'Mike taught Franco students math.'

b. àkɔntǎ nà maik ɔtɪnǎ frankofo.

math that Mike 3s+PAS+teach Franco+students

'It was math that Mike taught Franco students.'

c. *frankofo nà maik ɔtɪnǎ àkɔntǎ.

*Franco-students that Mike 3s+PAS+teach math

*'It was Franco students that Mike taught math to.'

For this reason,

ganafo ɔga bàǎlɔ àcampɔŋ.

Ghana-people chief 3s+PRES+call Acheampong

'Ghana's leader is called Acheampong.'

can be considered as deriving from

bààl> àcamp>η ganafo >ga. + EMPH

3p+PRES+call Acheampong Ghana-people chief

'They call Acheampong-Ghana's leader.'

while

àcamp>η bààl> ganafo >ga.

Acheampong 3p+PRES+call Ghana-people chief

'Acheampong is called Ghana's leader.'

can be considered as deriving from

bààl> ganafo >ga àcamp>η. + EMPH

3p+PRES+call Ghana-people chief Acheampong

'They call Ghana's leader Acheampong.'

While it is extremely unusual, it is possible for the object of a verb of motion to be fronted.

6a. lési àmerikà. + EMPH =====)

1s+PAS+come-from America

'I come from America.'

b. àmerikà nà lési.

America that 1s+PAS+come-from

'It's America that I'm from.'

My informants found this quite awkward, however.

In a sentence embodying a serial construction, only

the object of the first verb can be fronted.

7a. úti ðsikà úklò lèna. + EMPH =====)

3s+PAS+take knife 3s+PAS+cut meat

'She took a knife and cut the meat.'

b. ðsikà nà úti úklò lèna.

knife that 3s+PAS+take 3s+PAS+cut meat

'It was a knife she used to cut the meat.'

c. *lèna nà úti ðsikà úklò.

*meat that 3s+PAS+take knife 3s+PAS+cut

*'It was meat she used a knife to cut.'

I don't know whether fronting could take place in a compound sentence; however, I strongly doubt that it could.

Negation and Noun Phrase emphasis. It is possible to express the fact that while a particular action may have taken place, it did not involve a particular person or thing; the normal rules for emphasis apply, and either of the negative particles *hdi* or *ne* is inserted immediately before the emphasised Noun Phrase.

ñdi kɔ̀bɛ̀ nà àkɔ̀sɔ̀à ɔ̀kùlà.

not fish that Akosuah 3s+PRES+smoke

'It's not fish that Akosuah is smoking.'

ñdi lɪ̀gulabi nà mɔ̀ɔ̀yɔ̀.

not money that 1s+PRES+like

'It's not money that I like.'

ne ɔ̀nta nà bɔ̀lɔ̀wà.

not corn that 1p+FUT+harvest

'It's not corn that we'll harvest.'

ne ɔ̀ku nà lɪ̀tɛ̀ m̀.

not book that 1s+PAS+give them

'It wasn't a book that I gave them.'

ne kwamɪ néébò mé.

not Kwame REL+PAS+come here

'It wasn't Kwame who came here.'

ñdi amà mùùfi lɪ̀lu.

not Ammah REL+PRES+roast yam

'It's not Ammah who's roasting yam.'

ñdi àma nɪ̀tádu kani.

not they REL+GO+kill porcupine

'It's not they who'll go and kill a porcupine.'

Emphasis of a Verb

I discuss the use of infinitives to emphasise the action of a verb on pp. 233 ff.

Interrogative Words

There are three kinds of interrogative words:

i. Interrogative pronouns:

ma	'who(m)?'
bi	'what'

ii. Interrogative determiners:

ele	'how many?'
meni	'which?'

and

iii. Interrogative adverbs:

de	'how?'
bi su	'why?'
lema	'why?'
we	'where?'

These words, or, in the case of the interrogative determiners, the Noun Phrases dominating them, almost always occur sentence-initially, even though their analogs in declarative sentences may occur elsewhere in the sentence. When these interrogative words precede a word beginning with a vowel, an epenthetic *n'* is inserted, and when *ɛ̃ma* 'who?' functions as the subject of the sentence, the Relative Verb forms are used.

bi n'ââbla?

what *n'+2s+PRES+do?*

'What are you doing?'

ɛ̃ma nébò mé?

who *REL+PAS+come here?*

'Who came here?'

de bébò mé?

how *3p+PAS+come here?*

'How did they get here?'

ɛ̃ma bádu?

whom *3p+PAS+kill?*

'Whom did they kill?'

bi ɔsu n'éyù múnà kɔdii?

what cause n'+2s+PAS+steal my cloth?

'Why did you steal my cloth?'

wɛ báçà kàmàdìì?

where 3p+PAS+be-at yesterday?

'Where were they yesterday?'

lìlù ɛɛ n'èèyee?

yam how-many n'+2s+PRES+buy?

'How many yams are you buying?'

lìgulabi ɛɛ nèèyee?

money how-much n'+2s+PRES+spend?

'How much money are you spending?'

The interrogative determiner ɛ́mɛ́ni 'which' functions in much the same way as other determiners in that it must agree with the head noun of the Noun Phrase containing it. When the Noun Phrase containing ɛ́mɛ́ni is the object of the verb, the rules for emphasis apply.

bàklàma bàmeni báku fua lenaa?

dogs which 3p+PAS+chew your meat?

'Which dogs ate your meat?'

ɔga ɛ́méni úk̀p̀li?

chief which 3s+PAS+die?

'Which chief died?'

fua ɛ́nwani ɛ́méni ɛ́lubò méé?

your borther which 3s+FUT+come here?

'Which brother of yours will come here?'

lílù lèméni nà fua uni ùùyee?

yam which that your mother 3s+PRES+buy?

'Which yams is your mother buying?'

kètubi kàméni nà bítlì?

waterpot which that 2p+PAS+take?

'Which water pot did you take?'

na is used also when ɛ́méni is part of a Noun Phrase which is part of a fronted adverbial.

uwi ɛ́méni nà bébò méé?

time which that 3p+PAS+come here?

'What time did they come here?'

Appendix A. Summary of the Noun Class System

Summary of the Noun Class System
(and Table of Concord and Agreement Forms)

A = Person or Noun Class and Number B = Noun Class Prefix C = Concordial Prefix
D = Independent Pronoun E = Objective Pronoun D = Possessive Pronoun

A	B	C	D	E	F
1	sg	LE, MO, N-	àmí	mí	mùná
	pl	BO-	àbù	bù	bùlâ
2	sg	A-	àwò	ɔ	fùlâ
	pl	BE-	amí	mí	bíâ
3	sg	O-	aṇu	ṇ	ṇwa
	pl	BA-	âma	mâ	bala, manâ

A	B	C	D	E	F
I	sg.	O, A-	anyu	ŋ	ŋwa
	pl.	BA-	áma	wá	bala, mana
II	sg.	O-	anyu	ŋ	ŋwa
	pl.	LE-	ánya	nyá	anya
III	sg.	LE-	áni	ní	anya
	pl.	BA-	áma	wá	bala, mana
IV	sg.	LE-	áni	ní	anya
	pl.	A-	ánya	nyá	ana
V	sg.	KA-	áka	ká	kana
	pl.	BA-	áma	wá	bala, mana
VI	sg.	KA-	áka	ká	kana
	pl.	KO-	áku	kú	kuna

A		B	C	D	E	F
VII	sg.	KO-	KO-	ákú	kù	kuna
	pl.	BA-	BA-	áma	má	bala, mana
VIII	sg.	KO-	KO-	áku	kù	kuna
	pl.	A-	A-	ánya	nyá	ana
IX	sg.	KA-	KA-	áka	ká	kana
	pl.	N-	BO-	ámu	mù	anya
X	sg.	ø-	O-	anu	η	ηwa
	pl.	BA-	BA-	áma	má	bala, mana
XI		N-	BO-	ámu	mù	anya
XII		A-	A-	ánya	nyá	ana
XIII		O-	O-	anu	η	ηwa

A		B	C	D	E	F
XIV		LE-	LE-	âni	nî	anya
XV		KA-	KA-	âka	kâ	kana
XVI		KO-	KO-	âku	kù	kuna
XVII	sg.	ø-	O-	anyu	η	ηwa
	pl.	ø-	BA-	âma	mâ	bala, mana
XVIII		BO-	BO-	âmu	mù	anya

Appendix B. Connected Texts

The Origins of Baglo

narrated by Samuel Ayitevi

búlà bàlémì ní, kèsia bósì ní, bósì àsànti kama
 kèsiàdì. bula lèdi nívò ní, lèca nvò k'ómwì, nsu bɔsɔ
 lésò lìise anì ka nà àbu bɔtèmì mé. ká bɔta nvò ní,
 aɲu bubàlè ɲòtsiɛ; ndi bání ɲòtsiɛ bósì. bɔsì bósì
 bubàlèlè nívò. aɲu ká búbù bólè ní, mana ɔga ɔni baalò 5
 àgòkɔli ní, muna kudɔ búbò búbàlèlè. aɲu ká búbò
 búbàlèlè ní, ùdù ɔní nà útì ɔdà bù ní, ɔ̀ɔdia bù. ɔni
 bɔtù kɔwɔdù bɔka bɔmàná ɔma, nà kùtàkɔ lãã kútàdà
 àtibrùku. aɲu ká bɔɲwù lètì ní, ùutì àbùàlaku ku
 lèprèntù kɔke taaca. sí àanyà ní, nyáà ɔɲwà ɔgbà 10
 alɔ. àmo ká bɔɲwù lètì lèmeni, aɲu nà bùùbo ntu
 tɛɛwi kɔwɔdù kúɲwí. bùùbo ntu tɛɛwi. bùùbo tɛɛwi.
 ɔ̀ɔji. aɲu ká kɔwɔdù kómè kólè kúbò, lèni: vlaà ní,
 aɲu bɔtà gbiaà; aɲu bula fui bɔtòlò. aɲu ká bɔtòlò ní,
 kòbì kódì kòca kama mé, lèni, nà baalò kù 'jináyà'. 15
 aɲu bula fui bùbèlìe nívò, àbu balemi fuii. ka bùbèlìe
 nvò ní, aɲu bɔɔnù kàdà mé ní, ɔ̀nantu ɔ̀na, kàdwéè.
 aɲu bètsuli bésè kalɔ ku bɔta. abu bagòlòni, àbu

nákpè kama. aṇu ká b̀ta ni, bààklàdi béeliè kàda nv̀, báàẁl̀ fuiì. aṇu náya na àbu búliè legòlò mé.

20

Translation

We Balemi, the place we come from, we come from a certain place behind the Asanti. As for our language, it is still there, but it hasn't continued to remain like what we speak here. When we migrated from there, we arrived at ɲɔtsiɛ; (however) it's not from there, ɲɔtsiɛ, that we originate. Only in passing did we lodge there. Then, when we got there, their chief 5 there was called Agɔkɔli, our section came and stayed there. While we were staying, that manner which he was using in governing us wasn't good for us. He told us to build a wall to go around the town (high enough) to reach God. When we were treading the dirt, he would put pieces of iron and of bottles into it. If you were 10 trodding, then it would cut the sole of (your) foot. As we were kneading this soil, then we would throw water, pouring (it) on one wall. We were throwing water (and) pouring it. We were throwing and pouring.

He didn't know. When this wall fell down, like this:
 vlaà, then we got up 'gbiaà; then we all fled. When
 we fled, there was a certain hill behind here /pointing/ 15
 and it's called 'Dzinaya.' Then we all settled there,
 all us Balemi. When we settled there, as we were
 looking down here, it was raining, quite nicely. Then
 people started migrating. We the Baglos, we stayed
 behind. When we migrated, the rest had settled down
 there, they had all finished. That's why we settled 20
 in Baglo here.

Notes

Höftmann and Ayitevi (1968:216-247) present a very
 interesting account of some of the oral traditions of
 the Togo Remnant peoples, especially of the ηṭsɪɛ
 legend, which is common, it seems, to most of the peoples
 of the southern part of Volta Region and Togo; they
 also include a number of original texts, including one
 on the ηṭsɪɛ legend in Lɛlɛmi. (For identification,
 my informant, Samuel Ayitevi, is the grand-father of
 the co-author of the article, John K. Ayitevi.)

1. bùlà the possessive pronoun used as a sort of appositive. ni a sort of "verbal comma" used to highlight the preceding phrase, often best translated by 'as for'. 2. kèsiàdì. (= kèsia 'place' + kádì 'a certain') in many cases, e.g., bècwedi 'certain people', the concord prefix to ú.dì 'a certain' is omitted. bɔsɔ lésɔ the infinitive is used together with the verb to emphasize the action. 3. lésɔ lîlse note that while lésɔ 'it continued' is in the affirmative, lîlse 'it didn't remain' is in the negative. àbu the independent pronoun is here used for emphasis. 4. anu an adverb which seems to indicate simultaneity of action, translated either by 'then' or left untranslated; in conjunction with ká (i.e., anu ká), translated by 'when' or 'while'. ndi emphasises the elements negated. bɔsɔ bɔsɔ see note to bɔsɔ lésɔ in line 2; literally, 'coming, we came (from)'. 5. bubàlɛlɛ note the use of the Come-itive marker -BA-. 7. útì ɔdà refers to Agɔkɔli. 8. bɔka bɔmàná bɔka means 'to be first', bɔmàná means 'to squeeze', together they mean 'to surround'. 9. bɔɔwù, ùutì both in the present pro-

gressive (like many of the verbs following) to show habitual action as sort of a "historical present".

- 10 taaca 'placing, putting' form of present progressive used by second and subsequent verbs in a serial construction. 11. alɔ (= kalɔ 'bottom', 'ground') apparently, because ɔgbà kalɔ 'the sole of the foot' has become almost a fixed phrase, the consonant of the ka- prefix has been lost. 13. kɔlɛ kúbò see bɔka bɔmàná in line 8. Separately bɔlɛ means 'to rest, to sleep', bùbò means 'to come, but together they mean 'to fall down'. lɛni a deictic which introduces a quotation or, as in line 15, is used when somebody is pointing. vlaà, gbiaà (l. 14) onomatopoeic words. 17 kàdà refers to the western part of the Buem district. 18. bésè kalɔ (= bésè 'they went' + kalɔ 'bottom', 'ground') 'they began'. 19. nákpè relative verb form in the Past tense, used to emphasise the subject. béeliè ... báàwɔlɔ (l. 20) note use of Past Progressive in serial construction. 20. náyà see nákpè in line 19.

Why There are Chiefs

narrated by Samuel Ayitevi

ńkà búlìlè kùkù ni, bùùbo 'ɔga. aɲu, ùcwedì bùlà
 akɔ ùbààwɔ ubi. ubi ɔmé ɔtà ɔbì èlɔ, ńsù ùlèseì.
 ùùwi kàlɔ. aɲu limeì lédì ni, uni kù ɔti bátrɔ bésè
 kemo. aɲu ùlòku unɔhɔ ɔdì úllè ni, aɲu únù ka leledì
 lèblà "kpá." ete únù "fifififififi." ete ubi ɔmé ɔtà 5
 únyè. útéfwìlè àyìkpè ɔmé na úti úbò ùbéfì n'ɔblà kutu.
 ɔdì. "ubi ɔmé ùùse ńsàa!" aɲu ùtásù kúélà. aɲu ka
 uni mènè bébò ni, aɲu na ɔsɔ ɔsù ma ɔnì, lèni, mana
 ubi ɔmé ùùse. aɲu bání ùlesè; aɲu ɔnì ùùse, nìl si
 ɔkɔ n'ɔɔnyì ni, si bákàda ù nà bátrɔ bésè kemo ni nà 10
 bàvi eni nà bèbèlìe ɲ kudɔ nà si uwi ɔnvɔ údù nà
 bàànu. aɲu ka bákàda ù nà bátrɔ bésè ùlòku ɔmé kudɔ
 ni, aɲu bènù "kpa" "fififi." ka bátà bàànu ni, ète
 úsè asɔ. aɲu na ɔti kù uni kù ùlòku ɔnvɔ ake bésè
 bátálè, aɲu bálèmi. aɲu ɔti údù ɔtɔ aɲu na ɔtù ɲ 15
 kasa nà úfì ù ɔdà mómómò. ɔnì, "bi ɔsu n'ààbla mi
 leni?" ńsàa esèè." aɲu ɔnì, "íí." àmɔ ɔnì, "si
 àtasù ni, lèlení ɔsu èlèse ni, nyáà nà bɔnyɔnu ɔ."
 aɲu ɔnì, "nsu ɔɔ?" ɔnì "íí." "ɔga ndi. si bèca mi 20

ɔtɔ ɛmɛɪ matɛ nà bidie mi nà ami ndi ɔga nà ɔma ɔmɛni
 kemo nà biàtasumu mi ni, níí mɛsɛ." aɲu ɔni, "eseɛ?"
 ɔni, "íí." aɲu ɔni, "leledi biara mɛtɔ." aɲu n'ɔlɔ
 béneɲkù nà úti ɔsù mà, àmù báni, "óò" níí bààbla.
 aɲu ɔɔɔ bɛti ũ bácà ɔtɔ ɛmɛɪ matɛ. limeɪ matedi ni,
 bɛti ũ bɛsɔɲkù nà bácà katɔ nà bátɔ nà báblà bɛtɛ ũ
 kalena utsuli ɔɔdi lega. aɲu na ɲvɔ nà bɔlɔɔnu bɔti
 ka ɔga ɔca ɔɔɔ.

25

Translation

Anyhow, we settled down in the olden days, (but)
 we didn't have any chief. Then somebody among us came
 to give birth to a child. The child grew up, but he
 wouldn't walk. He remained on the ground. Then, on
 a certain day, his mother and father went to farm.
 Then there was a certain old woman sitting there and
 she heard something go "Pop!" Immediately after, she
 heard, "Fififififi." Right after, the child stood up.
 He went and caught a mouse and he took it, roasted it,
 and made stew out of it. He ate it. "So the kid
 walks!" Then she didn't say anything. Then when the

5

mother and father came back, the old woman told them that that child of theirs was walking. They said he didn't walk; Then she said he did walk, in fact if she were telling lies, then if they'd take leave of her and go off to farm, stay there a while, and return to her place, when the time came they'd see. 10

Then they took leave of her and went to the woman's place and heard "Pop""Fifififi." When they got up to look, then he was really walking. Then the father and mother and old woman went there and went in. The father entered the house and seized the child, holding him tightly. He said, "Why do you act this way with me? You really do walk." He answered, "Yes." The former said, "If you don't say why you don't walk, then we'll stay with you." Then the child said, "Should I tell you?" The father said, "Yes." "I'm a chief. 15

If you put me in a room for seven days and take me out and I'm a chief in this town and you go to serve me, then I'll walk." The father asked, "You'll walk?" The child replied, "Yes." The father said, "I'll do everything." Then he summoned the elders and revealed 20

(the matter) to them; they said, "OK"; in fact, they'd do it. Then, in fact, they took (the child) and put him in a room for seven days. On the seventh day, they sent him out and drummed and danced, and they did everything for him as (they would) for somebody becoming a chief. It's from that that we should see to know why there really are chiefs.

25

Notes

2. ùbààw 3s+COME+hear. śbì ɛlɔ (= śbì lɛlɔ)
 11. bèbèlɛ ɲ kud ɲ is presumably a reduced form of ɲwa 'her'. 12. bàanu 3p+CERT+see. 14. as (= sɔsɔ) 'truly'. 20. bèca ... bidɛ both verbs are in the Subjunctive. 22. bàatasumu presumably 2p+CERT+GO+serve.

kɔtɔŋjã

narrated by Dominic Nyarko

àbu bagòlò ni, si ɔtɔdì kemo banu kà mana bètsuli
 bàsɔ bèèmòmo na bàlàyɔ kà mana bèbì bèteliè kɔjã ɔma
 ɔmàmadi ni, bàkana na bèti, ani, fu' ɔŋwani ùbidi bete
 f' ubidì n'ùti kana ɔtɔ kemo kàlàyi mì. si f' ɔŋwani
 ùnuŋgùdì iye f' ɔŋwani ùbliidì ɔnàná úkpì ni, si ààyɔ, 5
 àkana n'èti ulòkudi. ŋwa àlɔ òdi: kùkù ni, bèlòku
 nátaàsià ku bànàná kemu. àma kù ma náblà àjuma. aŋu
 ɔsù, bɔɔnù ka si ɔnàná úkpì ni na ùlòku ɔsɔ úliè kàduli
 òvɔ ni, nya ɔdia. ŋwa àlɔ òdi bebi bánvɔ bátábi tɔ elɔ.
 si úti mà úsèngu kesi màrà ni, bàluubo àbi na f' ɔŋwani 10
 ŋwa ɔtɔ kemo kayì. aŋu ɔsù nɔhíà ka si ùcuedi ɔyɔɔ,
 ɔkana ùti ɔŋwani ùlòkudi. ŋwa àlɔ òdi ɔŋwani úùkpì;
 aŋu ɔsɔ ùùbo.

Translation

Marriage within the Family

We the Baglos, if in a certain house they see that
 their people continue not to be many and they don't want

their children to set up a household in any other town, they can take, say, a child of your brother's and give him/her to a child of your own to marry so that the lineage won't be lost to you. If either your older brother or your younger brother dies, if you want to, you can 5 marry his wife. The grounds are that in the olden days, women used to follow the men to farm. They'd both do the work. Therefore, we see that if a man died and his wife continued to remain at that compound, it would be good. The reason is that the children hadn't yet grown up. If the mother took them and sent them somewhere else, 10 they would suffer and your brother's own household would lose out. For this reason it's important that if somebody wants to, he can marry his brother's wife. The reason is that the brother has died; he's not there any more.

Notes

1. ni the "verbal comma". ɔtɔdɪ (= ɔtɔ 'house' and ɔdɪ 'a certain')
2. bàsɔ bèèmòmò even though bèèmòmò 'they are not many' is negated, bàsɔ 'they continue' is not; this is one of the few cases in which

all the verbs in a serial verb construction do not co-vary with respect to negation. kɔ̌jǎ abstract noun formed from ɔ̌jǎ, bǎ- 'husband'; cf. kɔ̌tɔ̌hǎ 'marriage within the family', which is an abstract compound noun formed from ɔ̌tɔ̌, lɛ- 'house, home' and ɔ̌jǎ, bǎ- 'husband'.

3. bǎkana na bèti 'they can take'; I cannot account for the reason that na is inserted between bǎkana 'they can' and bèti 'they should take'. ani possibly the same as the preposition àni 'as if'. fu' ɔ̌nwani an elided form of fùlǎ ɔ̌nwani 'your sibling'. ùbidi (= ubi 'child' and ɔ̌di 'a certain') the determiner ɔ̌di occurs quite frequently with nouns in the kinship system, possibly to indicate inalienable possession; compare ɔ̌lòku 'a woman' with ɔ̌lòkudi 'a wife' and, possibly, ɔ̌nwa 'a sibling' with ɔ̌nwani '(somebody's) sibling'.

4. kana 'so that', introducing a purpose clause, probably an elided form of kǎlǎ na 'a way which'. ɔ̌tɔ̌ kemo 'household', literally, 'house's inside'. kǎlǎyi agrees with kemo 'inside'. 7. nátáàsiǎ ku 'used to follow'; the Relative Past is used to express a historical fact. àma kù ma 'they both'; àma 'they' presumably refers to

bèlòku 'women' and ma 'they' presumably refers to bàṇàṇà 'men'. ma 'they' is the object form of the pronoun and, in formal speech, would not usually follow a conjunction. náblà also in the Relative Past to express a historical fact. 10. f' ñwani nwa ɔtɔ kemo literally, 'your brother's his house inside'; the possessive pronoun nwa 'his' is used to give emphasis, analogous to the English "own" as in "your brother's own household." 11. ɛyɔ the falling tone and lengthening of the final syllable indicates the end of the clause.

BIBliography.

Bibliography

In addition to works mentioned in the body of the thesis, this select bibliography also contains references to other works relating to Buem.

Allan, E.J. (1972a) "'Verbing Things' in Buem." Paper to Xth WALS Conference, Accra. Unpublished mimeo.

----- (1972b) "The Vowel System of Lelɛmi." Paper to Xth WALS Conference, Accra. Unpublished mimeo.

----- (in press) "Aspects of the Aspect System of Lelɛmi (Buem)." To appear in Proceedings of the 4th Conference on African Linguistics.

Bertho, J. (1952) "Les dialectes du Moyen Togo." Bull. IFAN 1046-1107.

Cansdale, G.S. (undated) A List of Scientific and Vernacular Names of the Fauna of Ghana. Legon?

Chomsky, N. (1965) Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

----- (1970) "Remarks on Nominalization." In R. Jacobs and P. Rosenbaum (eds.), Readings in Transformational Grammar. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn.

- DeWolf, P. (1971) The Noun Class System of Proto-Benue-Congo. The Hague: Mouton, Series Practica.
- Dogli, A.O. (1953) Balemi Munueni ("I'm writing to the Balemi"), Vol. I-III. Hohoe, Ghana: Obekusu Press.
- (1955) Balemi Munueni ("I'm writing to the Balemi"), Vol. IV-X. Privately printed in Holland.
- (undated) Mpayebo Kede (Catholic Missal). Privately printed in Holland.
- Ford, K.C. (1971) Aspects of Avatime Syntax. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Ghana, Legon.
- (in press) "On the Loss of Cross-Height Vowel Harmony." To appear in Papers on Ghanaian Linguistics. Legon: Institute of African Studies.
- Funke, E. (1919) "Originaltexte aus der Klassensprachen." Zeit. f. Engeborenspr. 10:261-313
- Givón, T. (1972) Studies in ChiBemba and Bantu Grammar. Supplement 3 to SAL.
- Greenberg, J.H. (1963) The Languages of Africa. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.
- (1966) The Languages of Africa, 2d ed. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.

- Heine, B. (1968) Der Verbreitung und Gliederung der Togo-Restvolker. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Henry, F. (1972) "Bantu Lexical Classes and Semantic Universals (with Some Remarks on How Not to Write Phonological Rules)." SAL 3:207-258.
- Hintze, U. (1958) Bibliographie der Kwa-Sprachen und der Sprachen der Togo-Restvolker. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Höftmann, H. (1966) "Die Nominalklassen im Lelemi." In J. Lukas (ed.), Neue Afrikanistische Studien 5. Hamburg: Deutsches Institut für Afrika-Forschung.
- (1970) "Verfahrensweise und Methoden bei der Aufnahme schriftlich nicht fixierter Sprachen." Probleme der Lexicographie. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- (1971) The Structure of Lelemi Language. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie.
- Höftmann, H., and Ayitevi, J.K. (1968) "Oral traditions of some of the so-called Remnant People in the Central Volta Region of Ghana." Mitt. des Instituts f. Orientforschung 14:216-241.
- Hyman, L.M. (1972) "Nasals & Nasalization in Kwa." SAL 3:167-205

Johnston, H.H. (1919) Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, Vol. I. OUP.

----- (1922) Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, Vol. II. OUP.

Kropp, M.E. (1967) Comparative African Wordlists No. 3: Lefana, Akpafu and Avatime. Legon: Institute of African Studies.

Migeod, F.W.H. (1911) The Languages of West Africa, Vol. I. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

----- (1913) The Languages of West Africa, Vol. II. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

Pike, K. (1948) Tone Languages. Ann Arbor: Michigan Univ. Press.

Plehn, R. ((1895) Beitrage zur Volkerkunde des Togogebietes.

Robins, R.H. (1964) General Linguistics: An Introductory Survey. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.

Seidel, A. (1898) "Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Sprachen in Togo" Zeit. f. afr. u. ocean. Spr. 4:235-238.

Stewart, J.M. (1967) "Tongue root position in Akan vowel harmony." Phonetica 16:185-204.

----- (1970) "Tongue root position in the Volta-Comoe languages and its significance for the reconstruction of the original Bantu vowel sounds." ALS 11:340-350.

----- (1971) "Niger-Congo: Kwa." In T. Sebeok (ed.), Current Trends in Linguistics 7: Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Hague: Mouton.

Voeltz, E. (1971) "Surface Constraints & Agreement Resolution: Some Evidence from Xhosa." SAL 2:37-60.

Welmers, W.E. (1959) "Tonemics, Morphotonemics and Tonal Morphemes." General Linguistics 4:1.

Westermann, D. (1910) "Die Lefanasprache in Togo." " Mitt. Sem. Orient. Sprache 13:2, pp. 39-57.

----- (1927) "Die westlichen Sudansprachen!" Mitt. Sem. Orient. Sprache 30.

Westermann, D., and Bryan, M.A. (1952) Languages of West Africa. OUP.

Winston, F.D.D. (1962) "The Nominal Class System of Eke." ALS 3:49-70.

